RESEARCHES

CONCERNING THE

LAWS, THEOLOGY, LEARNING,

COMMERCE, ETC.

OF

Ancient and Modern India.

BY Q. CRAUFURD, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE work, now submitted to the Public, is intended as an epitome of what is authentically known, respecting the ancient condition of India, including all that is to be found in Greek and Roman authors; and also what has recently been obtained by modern Researches. It was written during the Author's detention in France, in common with others of his countrymen, from the recommencement of hostilities in 1803, until they were delivered by the events of 1814.

Through the obliging attentions of the Gentlemen who have the charge of the different departments of the Royal Library at Paris,* he was readily furnished with whatever books he had occasion to consult, and which were to be found in that vast and invaluable collection of works in every branch of science and literature. And the Author takes this public opportunity of testifying to those Gentlemen his gratitude for their invariable kindness towards him.

On the same account likewise, he tenders his best thanks to the Chevalier Visconti, so well known for his extensive knowledge of ancient history and antiquities; and to Monsieur Delambre, Member of the Royal Academy at Paris, and Perpetual Secretary

* M. M. les Chevaliers Millin, Van Praët, and Langlès.

to the Class of Mathematical Sciences: nor is he less grateful to that distinguished orientalist, Professor Hamilton, of the East India College, at Hertford; who, notwithstanding his own important avocations, obliged the Author by examining his work in manuscript, and furnishing him with some important remarks, of which he has gladly availed himself.

Independently of the information acquired by the Author, during a long residence in India, he has consulted every work possessing any claims to attention, that treated on the various literary and scientific subjects which it came within his design to notice. From these works both frequent and copious quotations have been made; the Author deeming it preferable to state them in the words of their respective writers than to offer them in his own lan-

guage. References, however, have in every instance been given to the original authorities; and the different editions cited are carefully indicated, in order to facilitate the researches of the studious reader.

London,
January 1st, 1817.

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*** *In reading the Names of Persons and Places, the Vowels are understood to be pronounced as in the Italian Language.*

The longer Notes, referred to in the course of this volume, are placed at the end of Vol. II. *in order to equalize the size of the two volumes.*

RESEARCHES

ON

Ancient and Modern India.

CHAPTER I.

ON ANCIENT INDIA.

Ancient India appears to have comprehended not only the countries lying to the east of the Indus, but also those to the west of that river, which are bounded by the Hindū-Khow* and other mountains, as far south as the parallel of Moultan.† The

* The eastern extremity of the Indian Caucasus.

† This city appears to be situated in what is named by the Greeks, the country of the Malli.

territories, extending along the western side of the river from Moultan down to the place where it discharges itself by various branches into the sea, are separated from Persia by a long ridge of lofty rocky mountains; which, at the time of Alexander's expedition, were inhabited by a people, by the Greeks named Arabitæ:* consequently, India to the west of the Indus comprised Cabul, Candahar, Paishawur, Ghizni, Aria or Herat, together with Kajykan, Sewistan, and the Delta of the Indus.†

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* Probably colonists from Arabia.

† "The lower part of this Delta is intersected by rivers and creeks, in almost every direction, like the Delta of the Ganges: but, unlike that, it has no trees on it, the dry parts being covered with brushwood; and the remainder, by much the greatest part, being noisome swamps, or muddy lakes. A minaret, at the mouth of Ritchel river, serves as a mark for the road, which, from the flatness and sameness of the appearance of the coast, could not otherwise be discriminated. The upper part of the Delta is well cultivated, and yields abundance of rice.

"The

To the east of the Indus, the countries are distinguished by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, by the names of *India intra Gangem* and *India extra Gangem;* the former meaning the countries lying between the Indus and the Ganges, from west to east, and from the mountains of Emodus on the north, down to the sea at Cape Comorin, and including the island of Taprobane or Ceylon. It is possible that the continental part of this space, may have obtained the name of *peninsula,* from being inclosed by

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"The Ayeen Akbery says, that the principal food of the inhabitants of Sindy, is fish and rice.

"It appears from Strabo, that Aristobulus allowed only 1000 stadia for the basis of the Delta."—*Rennell.*

"Ptolemy assigns, as the confines of India on the west, the territory of the Paropamisadæ; the province of Arachosia, the modern Zablestan; and that of Gedrosia, at present denominated Mikran. These provinces, indeed, seem to be considered by Pliny, (lib. vi. c. 20.) rather as a part of the Indian than the Persian empire; to which he adds that of Aria, whose capital is the modern Herat."—*Maurice's Indian Antiquities,* vol. i. pp. 151, 152.

those two great rivers, both of which have their sources in the mountains above mentioned. India *extra Gangem* comprehends the countries situated to the east of the Ganges, Thibet, Nepal, Boutan, Assam, Aracan, Ava, Siam, the islands of Java, Sumatra, and various other eastern islands. The Imaus, called by the Indians Himodhi,* meaning the receptacle of Snow, separated it on the north-east from the countries included under the general name of *Scythia extra Imaum.*†

"India then on its most enlarged scale,

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* By Europeans those mountains are sometimes written Himalaya.

The Emodus, &c. of the ancients, are those mountains which extend from the Ganges, above Sirinagur, to Cashmire.

† Pliny, speaking of the mountains we have mentioned, but beginning with those on the east, says:

"Junguntur inter se Imaus, Emodus, Paropamisus, Caucasi partes, à quibus tota decurrit India in planitiem immensam et Egypto similem."—*Plin.* lib. vi. c. 17.

See "Recherches sur la Géographie Systematique et Positive des Anciens, &c. &c. par T. J. Gosselin, Paris, 1813."

in which the ancients appear to have understood it, comprises an area of nearly forty degrees on each side, including a space almost as large as all Europe; being divided on the west from Persia, by the Arachosian mountains; bounded on the east by the Chinese part of the further peninsula; confined on the north by the wilds of Tartary, and extending to the south as far as the isles of Java. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the stupendous hills of Potyid or Tibet, the beautiful valley of Cashmire, and all the domains of the old Indo-Scythians, the countries of Nepal and Boutan, Camrup or Assam, together with Siam, Ava, Racan, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the China of the Hindūs, or Sin of the Arabian geographers; not to mention the whole western peninsula, with the celebrated island of Sinhala, or *Lion-like-men,** at its southern extremity. By India, in short, we mean that whole extent of country in which the primitive religion and lan-

* Or rather Singh-Alaya, the abode of Lions.

guages of the Hindūs prevail at this day, with more or less of their ancient purity, and in which the Nagari letters are still used with more or less deviation from their original form."*

The name *Hindūstan,* is composed of two Persian words, *Hindū* and *stan,* meaning the country of black people. This mode of derivation is very common with the Persians, as Dahæ-stan, Tabor-stan, Curd-stan, Moghol-stan; but whatever may have been the origin of Hindū-stan, it was the name given to the part of the peninsula first known to the Persians. At present Hindūstan proper, means only the region extending from the mountains on the north,

* Sir William Jones.

M. Langlès observes to the author: "Ceci est rigoureusement vrai pour l'ordre alphabétique et pour le système syllabique, qui sont les mêmes chez toutes les nations citées par l'auteur; mais plusieurs de ces nations, telles que les Chingulais, les Javans, les Siamois, les Mongols, les Mantchous, &c. ont des caractères où il seroit difficile de reconnoître quelques formes du Dêva-Nâgary, mais qui sont rangés suivant l'ordre et le système de ce dernier alphabet."

down to about the twenty-second degree of latitude, where the river Narbudda flows: the country southward from thence is named Deckan or Dakhina, meaning south. The name Indus used by the Greeks, has been continued by modern authors,* but the proper name in Sanscrit, is Sindhou, though it be vulgarly pronounced Sind, and Sindhy.† One of the names of this country also, is *Bharat*, from an ancient sovereign whose dominions were so extensive, as, in the hyperbolical language of the east, to obtain for him the title of King of the World.‡

In this immense empire, were many great Rajahs, or hereditary princes, who acknowledged the Mahah, or great Rajah, as their supreme chief, or *Liege Lord;* but

* Pliny says: "Indus ab incolis Sindus appellatus." Lib. vi. c. 23. (edit. Bipont.)

† Translation of the Heetopades, p. 333.

‡ "Quant aux indigènes qui sont absolument étrangers à la discussion que nous venons d'aborder, ils nomment leur pays Bhârata-Khanda, pays de Bhârata, un de leurs anciens souverains."—*See Notice Géographique, sur l'Hindoustan, par M. Langlès*, p. 6.

who, in the internal government of their territories, were independent sovereigns. Some of those princes were nominated to different great offices of the state; and, if called upon, were obliged at a festival named Rajasuya, or royal sacrifice, to attend the Mahah Rajah, and serve in their respective offices.* In the territories of these, as well as in the immediate territories of the Mahah Rajah, were also numerous hereditary nobles, who paid tribute, and were bound to military service to their respective chiefs. Numbers of such nobles, notwithstanding all the changes India has undergone, exist in these days.

Many great cities are mentioned, both by native and by Greek authors; but the capital, or chief place of residence of the Mahah Rajah, or great prince, has not yet been ascertained. Some have supposed it to have been Oujein, a city of great antiquity, and which answers in name and position to the *Ozene* of Ptolemy, who calls

* See the Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 89. 4to edit.

it the capital and royal residence of Tiastanus. The ruins of numerous other great cities have been discovered in different parts of the empire. Taxila, situated where Attock now stands, on the eastern bank of the Indus, and where Alexander crossed that river, was the capital of the country lying between the Indus and Hydaspes, or Behut. Lahore appears to have been the capital of Porus, prince of the country named the Punjab, lying between the Hydaspes and Hesudrus, or Setlege. Palibothra, to which place Megasthenes was sent as ambassador by Seleucus Nicator, to Sandrocotus,* was the capital of the Prasii. This city, said to have been eighty stadia, or ten miles in length, and fifteen stadia, or about two miles in breadth, is supposed by Major Rennell to have been situated where Patna now stands; which, he says, was anciently named by the Hindūs Patelpoother, but according to Sir William Jones, Pataliputra. But Canoge, supposed to be the Ca-

* See note A, in Appendix.

linapaxa, or Calinipaxa of Pliny,—which is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, near the spot where the Calini or Calinuddy river joins it, and which was founded about 1000 years before our æra,—is said by Ferishta to have once been the capital of those regions. The Indian histories are full of accounts of the grandeur of this city, and even in the sixth century of our æra, when it had greatly declined from its former populousness, wealth, and magnificence, it was said to contain 30,000 shops, in which betel-nut was sold.* Gour called also Lucknouti, supposed to be the Gangia Regia of Ptolemy, stood on the left bank of the Ganges, about twenty-five miles below Rajemahal; no part of the site of ancient Gour, however, is now nearer to the present bank of the Ganges than four miles; and some parts of it, which are said to have been originally washed by that river, are

* The *betel* or *arrék* nut, with the leaf of an aromatic plant, named generally Pahn, is almost universally chewed by the natives of India.

now twelve miles from it; but such deviations of rivers from their original course are of frequent occurrence.* Rennell, from the authority of Dow, says, that about 730 years before Christ, it was the capital of Bengal; and, as it appears to have been situated in the dominions of the prince called by the Greeks Sandrocotus, who had usurped the government, it is possible that he may have removed his residence from Gour to Palibothra; or, it is possible that the seat of government may have been changed by his predecessors for reasons with which we are unacquainted. Gour was in some degree restored by Akber, in A.D. 1575, but is now in ruins.—"In taking the extent of these at the most moderate calculation," says Rennell, "it is not less than fifteen miles in length along the old bank of the Ganges, and from two to three in

* "However, a small stream that communicates with the Ganges now runs by its west side, and is navigable during the rainy season. On the east side it has the Mahanada river, which is always navigable, and communicates with the Ganges."—*Rennell.*

breadth. Several villages stand on part of its site; the remainder is either covered with thick forests, the habitations of tigers and other beasts of prey; or become arable land, whose soil is chiefly composed of brick-dust." We are told by Ferishta that it was deserted on account of the general unhealthiness of its air, which, perhaps, may have been occasioned by the change of the course of the river; but Rennell says that the present inhabitants informed him that it had been deserted during a pestilence, and had not again been peopled.*

* "The principal ruins now to be seen, are a mosque lined with black marble, elaborately wrought; and two gates of the citadel, which are strikingly grand and lofty. These fabrics, and some few others, appear to owe their duration to the nature of their materials, which are less marketable, and more difficult to separate, than those of the ordinary brick buildings, which have been, and continue to be, an article of merchandize; and are transported to Moorshedabad, Mauldah, and other places, for the purpose of building. These bricks are of the most solid texture of any I ever saw; and have preserved the sharpness of their edges, and smoothness of their surfaces, through a series of ages.

It is not, indeed, impossible that all the three places, Gour, Canoge, and Palibothra, may have been occasionally, or at different periods, used as capitals of the Prasii, as we have known both Agra and Dehly to have been of Hindūstan during the last two centuries. But Ayódhyá, which was situated near the present site of Fyzabad, is supposed to have been the chief city of all those parts of India, before any of the above mentioned places. Sir William Jones, in speaking of Audh, or Ayódhyá,

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The situation of Gour was highly convenient for the capital of Bengal and Bahar, as united under one government, being nearly centrical with respect to the populous parts of those provinces, and near the junction of the principal rivers that compose that extraordinary inland navigation, for which those provinces are famed; and, moreover, secured by the Ganges and other rivers, on the only quarter from which Bengal has any cause for apprehension."—*Rennell.*

The mosque was probably raised by Akber, the other buildings may have been of much more ancient date. We find in Stewart's account of Bengal, that Gour was the capital of a Mohammedan dynasty two centuries before Akber.

says, that according to the reports of the Brahmins, it extended over a line of ten Yojans, or about forty miles; and that the present city of Lachnau, or Lucnow, was only a suburb, called Lacshmanadwara, or the gate of Lacshman, brother of Rama.*

Though Pythagoras, it is said, had visited India; and though, from what has been transmitted to us of his doctrines, it is evident that many of them must have been borrowed from the Hindūs, yet the Greeks, before the expedition of Alexander, had but little knowledge of India, or its inhabitants. All that is to be found in Herodotus, is extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Before his time, the Persians, it appears, had not only subdued some of the

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* Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 259.

The extent given to this city in the Ayeen Akbery, is fabulous: but it is there said, (and it probably may be true) that it was the largest city in Hindūstan, and esteemed one of the most sacred places of antiquity. "In the Tereetah Joug it was the residence of Rajah Ramchund, who enjoyed the two-fold office of King and Prophet."—*See the Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 41.

Indian provinces to the west of the Indus; but had also obliged some of the princes, whose territories lay along the eastern side of that river, to pay them tribute. The Indian conquered provinces on the west of the Indus, and the power of collecting the tribute from the others, formed the twentieth Satrapy of the Persian Empire. And we are told by Herodotus that Darius Hystaspes,* who, it appears, had crossed the Indus in person about 180 years before Alexander, sent Scylax, of Caryanda, to explore the Indus and the countries contiguous to it, as Alexander afterwards sent Nearchus.†

* The fifth sovereign of the Kyanian Dynasty of Persia.

† Mr. Maurice, in his *Indian Antiquities*, announces the opinion that Darius and Zoroaster had both visited India, secretly. We shall in substance quote the passage:—"The principal fire temple and usual place of residence of Zoroaster, and of his royal protector Darius Hystaspes, was at Balkh, the capital of Bactria. Stationed so near the country of the Brachmans, this bold and judicious reformer would hardly fail of visiting them. In reality we are told, by one of the later

From the intelligence supplied by the early Greek and Latin authors, we find that the same religion, laws, manners, and

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historians of the Roman empire, that Hystaspes himself, and most probably not unattended by the illustrious Archimagus, did personally penetrate into the secluded regions of Upper India, in disguise, and that he was there instructed by the Brachmans in the principles of the mathematics, astronomy, and the pure rites of sacrifice. That part of India which Hystaspes visited was, doubtless, Cashmire, where, in all probability, the genuine religion of Brahma flourished longest without adulteration."—*Indian Antiq.* vol. ii. pp. 125 and 126.

The author he refers to, is Ammianus Marcellinus, a native of Antioch, who settled at Rome in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian Æra. He is considered as an impartial writer. The passage referred to by Mr. Maurice is as follows:

"Hystaspes, qui quum superioris Indiæ secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam venerat solitudinem, cujus tranquillis silentiis præcelsa Bracmanorum ingenia potiuntur; eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus, quantum colligere potuit, eruditus, ex his quæ didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit: quæ illi cum disciplinis præsentiendi futura, per suam quisque progeniem posteris ætatibus tradunt.—*Ammian. Marcell.* lib. xxiii. c. 6.

Mr.

customs, existed amongst the people of India, at the time they first obtained any knowledge of them, which at present exist and are practised by them: but, from the more accurate and extensive information that has been obtained of late years, we shall find it established beyond a doubt, that the Hindūs were a polished and refined people, while the inhabitants of Greece were in a state of barbarism, that is, long before Egyptian or Phenician adventurers had visited their country.

The learning and sciences of the Hindūs, and the affinity which appears to exist between their mythology and that of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, began in the course of the last century to occupy the attention of several literati in different countries of Europe:* but all the informa-

Mr. Langlès in his notes to the tenth volume of his edition of Chardin's travels, has endeavoured to prove that the religious and political institutions of the Hindūs and Prasii were the same.

* See five Memoirs by the Abbé Mignot, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,

tion acquired from the relations of modern travellers and missionaries, from Marco Paolo downward, though in many particulars faithful, was still too obscure and sometimes too contradictory, to enable them to form any just opinion on the subject. The voyage published in 1779 by Monsieur Le Gentil,* who was sent by the French government to Pondicherry, to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, and a subsequent voyage by Monsieur Sonnerat,† afforded more certain grounds of information in regard to the Indian astronomy, than Europeans had before obtained; a subject which was afterwards more fully illustrated in the "Histoire de

vol. xxxi. Three Memoirs of M. de Guignes, in the same work, vol. xl; and various other works that, previous to the time I have mentioned, appeared in France, England, and other countries.

* Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde, fait par ordre du Roi, à l'occasion du Passage de Venus sur le Disque du Soleil.

† Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine. Paris, 1782.

l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale," by the late learned M. Bailly.* Yet it is within little more than these thirty years past, that really authentic proofs have been procured, of the political state and learning in general, of the Indians in the remote ages we have alluded to. Till then, the want of a complete knowledge of the Sanscrit, with numerous other circumstances, obstructed inquiry; happily those obstacles have since been removed.

The conquests of the Mohammedans were not merely suggested by ambition, but excited by the wish of propagating their doctrines, which was exercised with fanatic fury. Every true Musalmān thought it a pious duty to subdue infidels, and force them to adopt his faith. The subversion of the Hindū religion was considered as a sacred obligation, the execution of which might sometimes be suspended from political motives, or modified by the disposition of particular chiefs, but it was never renounc-

* Published at Paris, in 1787.

ed; and notwithstanding instances of toleration that may be produced, as during the reign of that enlightened prince, Akber, and some of his successors, it is evident that the Hindūs were ever regarded by the Mohammedans in general, with abhorrence and contempt.* The practices of those invaders naturally inspired the natives with suspicions of their subsequent English rulers. The Brahmins, sole depositories of the Hindū laws and doctrines, were also

* The desire of converting all the inhabitants of Hindūstan, seems to have excited Tippoo Sultan to the projects which terminated so fatally for him, even more than his inveteracy to the English, or his desire of encreasing his dominions. In his correspondence with Zimman Shah, king of Cabul, and other Mohammedan princes, which was found in the palace of Seringapatam after the capture of the place, this appears to be the grand object he had in view; and he speaks of the destruction of the English but as a measure necessary to accomplish it. In the countries conquered by him, and even in Mysore, he caused many Hindūs to be forcibly circumcised. His father Hyder Alī, on the contrary, left his subjects to practise the doctrines in which they were educated, or which they voluntarily chose to adopt.

the sole interpreters of them. Some endeavours to obtain information on those subjects, had not only proved fruitless, but had even tended to encrease the distrust of the Brahmins, and with that, their caution and reserve. Mr. Hastings on being appointed Governor-General of the British possessions in India, made it an object of his particular attention, to remove their fears. He wished to obtain precise information of their institutions. He was not excited to this by mere curiosity, but, by the more laudable motive of acquiring means for better discharging the duties of his important station, in promoting the welfare of the people at large. He enjoyed the advantage of knowing the Persian and Hindūstanee languages; and in the course of some personal conferences with the principal Brahmins, he succeeded in gaining their approbation to what he proposed. A compilation of a code of Hindū laws, by Pundits convened for the purpose; a Persian version of it made under their inspection; a translation from that

into English, by Mr. Halhed, and one of the Bhagvat-Geeta, from the Sanscrit language, by Mr. (now Dr.) C. Wilkins, were all executed and published under his patronage.* The work thus begun by Mr. Hastings, was successfully prosecuted under the auspices of the late Sir William Jones, who had early been distinguished at Oxford, not only for his taste and knowledge in Greek and Roman literature, but also for his knowledge of the languages and history of the East. To attain the objects proposed, it was necessary for him to call to his aid the united efforts of all who were qualified and disposed to join with him in his labours. He therefore devised an institution, declared to be on the plan of the Royal Society of London. This institution, sanctioned by government, met for the first time in January, 1784, when it was resolved, as a just tribute of respect to the Go-

* The Bhagvat-Geeta is the first work, I believe, that was ever translated from Sanscrit into any European language.

vernor-General, to solicit his acceptance of the title of President; but Mr. Hastings, having desired *leave to resign his pretensions to the person whose genius had planned the institution, and who was the most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great purposes of its formation,* Sir William Jones was unanimously requested to accept that office. At the next meeting of the Society, he in his capacity of President, unfolded the subjects proposed for its inquiries; and the mode of pronouncing a discourse by the President at the first meeting in each year, relative to what had already been done and what was proposed as subjects of future inquiry, has been continued.* To be able to execute what he had in view, he began assiduously to study the Sanscrit, and from his extraordinary facility in learning languages, he in an astonishingly short space of time, attained a complete know-

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* See Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society at Calcutta.

ledge of it.* Aided by the Governor-General, but above all by his own conciliatory manners, and the opinion universally entertained of the purity of his conduct and intentions, the Pundits at last, instead of withholding information from him, became assiduous in assisting him. Hence he finally procured an acquaintance with those writings which had hitherto been so carefully concealed from the public.

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* Lord Teignmouth, author of his Memoirs, informs us, that in a note, in Jones's hand-writing, found amongst his papers, twenty-eight languages are mentioned as having been studied by him.

"Eight (says he) critically: English, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit.

"Eight studied less perfectly, but all intelligible with a dictionary.

"Twelve least perfectly, but all attainable;" and amongst these we find the Tibetian, Pâli, Phalavi, Deri, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Chinese.

Dr. Wilkins himself, so celebrated an orientalist, calls Jones *the Oracle* of Oriental learning.—*See Preface to a Sanscrit Grammar, published by Dr. Wilkins in London*, 1808.

The Courts of Law in the British dominions in India, were commanded, by an act of the legislature, to decide controversies between Hindū and Mohammedan parties, according to their respective laws of contracts and of succession. That the courts might be competent to do so, Sir William Jones undertook to form a digest of those laws, from the original Sanscrit and Arabic, which he accordingly accomplished, being assisted therein by a venerable Pundit named Trivédi Servoru Sarman, and a learned Musalmān, Maulavi Casim. Two notes written to him by those persons when the work was terminated, the one in Sanscrit, the other in Arabic, are strongly expressive of their profound respect for him.*

In the beginning of 1794, very shortly before his death, he published a translation of the *Ordinances of Menu, comprising the Indian system of duties, religious and civil.*

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* See Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir William Jones, vol. ii. p. 307.

Menu is considered by the Hindūs as a sacred lawgiver.

"In the eleven discourses which he addressed to the Asiatic Society, on the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature of Asia, and on the origin and families of nations, he has discussed the subjects which he professed to explain, with a perspicuity which delights and instructs, and in a style which never ceases to please."*

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* Memoirs of his life, vol. ii. p. 266.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE CREATION—THE LAWS, AND INSTITUTES OF MENU.

THE candid translator of the Laws of Menu, observes in his preface to them,* that though many blemishes are to be found in these laws, as *containing a system of despotism and priestcraft, both, indeed, limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support though with mutual checks*— "nevertheless, a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all sentient creatures,

* Sir William Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 88. Mr. Colebrooke has since translated from the Sanscrit a Digest of the Hindū Laws, it was published first at Calcutta, and afterwards at London, in 1802, in three volumes in 8vo.

pervades the whole work; the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe; the sentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harsh admonitions even to kings, are truly noble, and the many panegyrics on the Gayatri, the Mother, as it is called, of the Veda, prove the author to have adored not the visible material sun, but *that divine and incomparably greater light,* to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian scripture, *which illumines all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate our intellects.*"*

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* Jones.

Some persons have suggested the idea that the Hindū and Cretan lawgivers were perhaps the same person, and that Minos is a Greek corruption of Menu; and hence they fix the existence of the latter only about 1500 years before our æra; but, were this hypothesis even admitted, we must allow many ages before that, as necessary to bring an immensely extensive and numerous nation to such a polished and flourishing state,

It is supposed that certain sages having addressed Menu, requesting him to apprize them of the sacred laws, he began with speaking of the CREATION as follows:

"Be it heard!

"This universe existed only in the first divine idea yet unexpanded, as if involved in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, undiscoverable by reason, and undiscovered by revelation, as if it were wholly immersed in sleep:

"Then the sole self-existing power, himself undiscerned, but making this world

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as those very laws prove the Hindū nation to have attained at the time they were framed. Besides, I am at a loss to conceive what is intended by saying that the Indian and Cretan lawgivers were *one and the same person*. If a Cretan had knowledge of the laws of Menu, he may have borrowed from them; he may also have borrowed his name, though we confess not to discover any strong analogy between them; nothing shews that they lived about the same epoch; and if we suppose that the Hindūs adopted the Cretan laws, we must deny all that is known of their civil and religious history and institutions.

discernible, with five elements* and other principles of nature, appeared with undiminished glory, expanding his idea, or dispelling the gloom.

"He, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even He, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth.

"He, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed:

"That seed became an egg,† bright as

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* The fifth element with the Hindûs, we believe, is what we understand by ether.

† In the verses ascribed to Orpheus, it is said that God having produced a large egg, broke it, and that from it came out the heavens and the earth. The same allegory was made use of by Pythagoras, to whom some ancient authors attribute the laws that others give to Orpheus. The Orphæ, though the name be taken from the latter, were followers of the doctrines of Pytha-

gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams; and in that egg was born the form of Brahmá, the great forefather of all spirits.

" The waters are called *nárá,* because they were the production of Nara, or the spirit of God; and since they were his first *ayana,* or place of motion, he thence is named *Náráyana,* or moving on the waters.

" From *that which is,* the first cause, not the object of sense existing every where in substance, not existing to our perception, without beginning or end, was produced

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goras. Their title implied a pure devout life, free from violence. They abstained from eating any animal food, or eggs, as the Brahmins and devout persons in India have done from the remotest ages. In the orgies of Bacchus, the egg was consecrated and held in veneration as a symbol of the world, and of *him who contains every thing within himself.* " Consule initiatos Liberi patris in quibus hac veneratione ovum colitur, ut ex formâ tereti ac penè sphærali atque undique versum clausâ, et includente intra se vitam, mundi simulachrum vocetur."—*Macrob. Saturn.* vii. c. 16. (tom. ii. p. 275. ed. Bipont.)

the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of *Brahmá.*

" In the egg the great power sat inactive a whole year *of the Creator,* at the close of which by his thought alone he caused the egg to divide itself;

" And from its two divisions he framed the heavens above, and the earth beneath: in the midst he placed the subtle ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters."

Then after recapitulating the different created things, it is said:

" He (meaning Brahmá) whose powers are incomprehensible, having thus created this universe, was again absorbed in the Supreme Spirit, changing the time of energy for the time of repose."

" He having enacted this code of laws, himself taught it fully to me in the beginning; afterwards I taught it Maríchi and the nine other holy sages.

" My son Bhrígu will repeat the divine code to you without omission; for that sage learned from me to recite the whole of it.

"Bhrĭgu, great and wise, having thus been appointed by Menu to promulge his laws, addressed all the Rĭshis with an affectionate mind, saying: 'Hear!'

"From this Menu, named Sway'-ambhuva, or *Sprung from the self-existing*, came six descendants, other Menus, *or perfectly understanding the scripture*, each giving birth to a race of his own, all exalted in dignity, eminent in power, &c. &c."*

The Laws of Menu are divided into eight chapters, the contents of which are: 1st. On the Creation. 2nd. On Education. 3rd. On Marriage. 4th. On Economics and Morals. 5th. On Diet, Purification, and Women. 6th. On Devotion. 7th. On Government and on the Military Class. 8th. On Judicature and Law, both civil and criminal,—but which appear to be only a digest of others already in practice,

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* "Ces Menous sont les mêmes que les Mahabad des anciens Persans." Observation by M. Langlès. See the notes, and *Notice Chronologique*, in the tenth volume of his edition of Chardin's travels.

correcting and extending them according to present circumstances.

The inviolability of a Brahmin, is a fixed principle in the Hindū legislation: it is ordained by law, and sanctified by religion: to deprive him of life, either by direct violence, or by causing his death in any other manner, is a crime which cannot be expiated. The person of the sovereign is also declared sacred.

"It is confessed on all hands that Hindū policy, both civil and religious, favours population, agriculture, and commerce."*

"It may be objected, that a tribe of military forms one part of the Hindū system; and that war implies oppression. Against this, however, the same code provides a remedy. The produce of the field, the work of the artisan, the city without walls, and the defenceless village, are declared sacred and inviolable.† Those only who

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* Vincent, vol. i. p. 82.

† "Strabo, lib. xv.—Diod. Sic. lib. ii.—Paolino.—See also Arrian."

used the sword, were to perish by the sword."* Nor did the order of priesthood produce obstruction to population; marriage in that class seems not only to have been admitted, but ordained. "A Brahmin cannot retire to the woods, that is to say, become Hylobius, or Jogee, till he has given children to the community."†

In the Laws of Menu we find regulations respecting interest on money, with a considerable latitude to those who lend it on *bottomry*, or adventures by sea. Previously to obtaining a knowledge of those laws, and other ancient Hindū writings, the

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* Vincent.

† The practice of exposing children to sale, legalised anciently in Greece, and still practised in China, Dr. Vincent observes, never existed in India. In Greece, says he, "a parent was allowed to expose every child; in China he may dispose of every female and every third male. This is a system that seems never to have entered into the conception of Indian legislators, civil or religious."—*Vincent*, vol. i. p. 85, and note to that page..

remotest mention that we had of money, was in the Scriptures: but if we admit the Laws of Menu to have existed at the dates generally allowed to them, and when various circumstances tend to shew they were in use, we shall find that not only the precious metals were employed as a medium of purchase, many centuries before their being first spoken of in that light in Jewish history, but that maritime commerce also was then practised in India. It seems to be almost universally allowed, that the knowledge of arts and sciences originated in, or was brought from India into more western nations; admitting this, we must allow time for their progress, and consequently conclude that the Hindūs practised them long before the Hebrews.

Though circumstances are found to induce the belief, that the Hindūs at a most remote period employed *money* or current coins for purchase and hire, yet I have never heard of any Hindū coins of sufficient antiquity to support such belief. In the

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society, we have *fac-similes* of ancient inscriptions on silver and copper tablets, but it does not appear in those Memoirs that the subject of ancient Hindū money had yet occupied the attention of the society. Mr. Chambers, indeed, in his description of the ruins of Mahabalipoor or Mavalipuram, says: " It is much to be regretted, that a blind zeal, attended with a total want of curiosity, in the Mohammedan governors of this country, have been so hostile to the preservation of Hindū monuments and coins.—The *Kauzy* of Madras, who had often occasion to go to a place in the neighbourhood of Mahabalipoor, assured the writer of this account, that within his remembrance, a ryot (husbandman) of those parts had found, in ploughing his ground, a pot of gold and silver coins, with characters on them which no one in those parts, Hindū or Mohammedan, was able to decypher. He added, however, that all search for them would now be vain, for they had doubtless been long ago devoted to the crucible, as, in

their original form, no one there thought them of any value."*

It is said that in Nepaul, Boutan, Assam, and Thibet, where Mohammedan conquerors never established themselves, ancient coins are met with, bearing Sanscrit inscriptions on them. And in the description given of the ruins of the city of Oujein, that was buried under ground about 1800 years ago by an earthquake, we are told that ancient coins are found both in digging among the ruins and in the channels cut by the periodical rains.†

In the Laws of Menu, *money* is frequently referred to. In the article on marriages, when inculcating on those of a superior order the necessity of having due respect for their rank, it is said, " by culpable marriages great families are sunk to a low state: so they are by practising manual arts, by lending at interest and other pe-

* See Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 158.

† Narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein, Asiat. Reg. vol. vi. p. 36.

cuniary transactions."*—In the chapter of economics and morals, when speaking of the Brahmins, it is said: "traffic and money lending, are *satyanrita;* but service for hire is named *swavritti* or *dog-living*, and of course they must by all means avoid it."†

In the chapter on government and the military class, when speaking of persons fit to be employed by the sovereign in different capacities, after describing those worthy of his confidence, and proper to be consulted, it is added:

"He must likewise appoint other officers, men of integrity, well informed, steady, habituated to gain wealth by honourable means, and tried by experience.

"As many officers as the due performance of his business requires, not slothful men, but active, able, and well instructed; so many and no more let him appoint.

"Among those let him employ the brave,

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 163.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 203.

the skilful, the well-born, and the honest, in his mines of gold or gems, and in other similar works for amassing wealth; but the pusillanimous, in the recesses of his palace."*

In treating of military affairs, and in the ordinance regarding fortresses, money is mentioned amongst the articles with which they should be provided.

On hire for servitude, it is said:

"One *pana* of copper must be given each day as wages to the lowest servant, with two cloths for apparel every half year, and a *drona* of grain every month."†

In the chapter on government, taxes are spoken of, and from what is said on that subject, it appears that they were paid in what has been translated money:

"Having ascertained the rates of purchase and sale, the length of the way, the expenses of food and of condiments, the charges of securing the goods carried, and

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* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 301.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 312.

the neat profits of trade, let the king oblige traders to pay taxes on their saleable commodities.

" As the leech, the suckling calf, and the bee, take their natural food by little and little, thus must a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.*

" As men versed in cases of tolls, and acquainted with all marketable commodities, shall establish the price of saleable things, let the king take a twentieth part of the profit on sales.

" Any seller or buyer, who fraudulently passes by the toll office at night, or any other improper time, or who makes a false enumeration of the articles bought, shall be fined eight times as much as their value.

" Let the king establish rules for the sale and purchase of all marketable things, having duly considered whence they come, if imported; and if exported, whither they must be sent; how long they have been

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 312.

kept; what may be gained by them; and what has been expended on them.

"At the close of every half month, according to the nature of the commodities, let the king make a regulation for market-prices in the presence of experienced men.

"Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him; and once in six months let him re-examine them.

"The toll at a ferry is one *pana* of copper for an empty cart; half a *pana*, for a man with a load; a quarter, for a beast used in agriculture, or for a woman; and an eighth, for an unloaded man.

"For a long passage, the freight must be proportioned to places and times; but this must be understood of passages up and down rivers: at sea there can be no settled freight.

"Whatever shall be broken in a boat, by the fault of the boatmen, shall be made good by those men collectively, each paying his portion.

"This rule, ordained for such as pass

rivers in boats, relates to the culpable neglect of boatmen on the water: in the case of inevitable accident, there can be no damages recovered.

"The king should order each man of the mercantile class to practise trade, or money-lending."*

From personal taxes of every kind, are exempted the blind, the lame, and all persons who may have attained the age of seventy years.

In the chapter on judicature and law, there are numerous rules respecting loans, which distinguish the nature of the loan, where there is risk, and cases where a pledge may be required by the lender; and it is observed, that to stipulate for interest beyond the legal rate, and different from the rules prescribed, is unlawful: where there is no risk, the legal interest is declared to be five on the hundred.

"Whatever interest, or price of the risk,

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* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. chapter on judicature, &c. p. 395.

shall be settled between the parties, by men well acquainted with sea-voyages, or journeys by land, with times and with places, such interest shall have legal force."*

In the chapter on slander and abusive language, as well as on some other offences, fines proportioned to the degree of injury are ordained, at the same time mentioning the amount to be paid.

Among the offenders subject to punishment, are receivers of bribes, extorters of money by threats, debasers of metals, gamesters, impostors, and professors of palmistry; and the same chapter contains curious instructions for discovering cheats and preventing mischief, by means of spies and officers of police.

When treating of the duties of different classes, the institutes of Menu enact thus:—"There are seven virtuous means of acquiring property: succession, occupancy or donation, and purchase or exchange, which are allowed to all classes;

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 356.

conquest, which is peculiar to the military class; lending at interest, husbandry, or commerce, which belong to the mercantile class; and acceptance of presents, by the sacerdotal class, from respectable men.

"Neither a priest nor a military man, though distressed, must receive interest on loans; but each of them, if he please, may pay the small interest permitted by law, on borrowing for some pious use, to the sinful man, who demands it."*

In the Ayeen Akbery there are quotations from Hindū ordinances, relative to loans, charities, and fines, for offences, in which different species of what has been understood to be money, are mentioned by name.

But, after thus stating some of the arguments which may be adduced to support the belief that money, or regular current coin, was in use in India at that very remote period of its history, there are others which oppose it, and among these, a pas-

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. viii. pp. 76 and 77.

sage in Pausanias; who, after saying that money was not in use in Greece, at the time of the death of Polydorus, king of Lacedæmon, (that is about 720 years before our æra, and above 800 after the arrival in Greece of Cadmus, Danaus, and Cecrops) adds, that even in his own time, that is about the year 180 of our æra, *the people of India, though their country abounded in metals, had no money;** and it is to be observed that Pausanias had great means of being informed on this point, by the extensive commerce then carried on by the Romans with India.

M. Sylvestre de Sacy, in a note which he obligingly communicated to the author, begins with the following observation of M. Chézy:

" Le seul mot Sanskrit, à ma connoissance, qui signifie, tout à la fois, argent comme métal, et argent comme monnoie, est *roupiam.* Ce mot est employé dans les anciens livres des Indiens. Si, comme on

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* Pausanias, Journey in Laconia, lib. iii. c. 12.

pourroit le croire, il est dérivé du mot *roupam,* figure, forme, on pourroit en induire que très-anciennement, aux Indes, l'argent reçevoit une empreinte qui en déterminoit la valeur dans les échanges commerciaux."

"Note de M. Chézy."

M. de Sacy then proceeds:

"J'aurois peine à admettre cette conjecture, qui paroit contraire à la marche naturelle des idées.

"Les Egyptiens et les Syriens se servent communément des mots qui signifient l'argent comme métal, pour désigner la monnoie. Ensuite ils emploient des mots pris du Grec, les Syriens les mots *dinoro* et *daricouno,* les Coptes les mots *nomisma* et *sateri.* Cependant les Syriens, ainsi que les Chaldéens, ont les mots *zouz, zouza,* et *zouzo,* qui paroissent désigner une monnoie proprement dite, d'argent, et on les trouve aussi dans le dialecte des Samaritains. Mais il paroit douteux que ce mot soit d'origine Syrienne: il ne semble pas tenir à une racine Chaldaïque et Syriaque, et il

pourroit être Persan d'origine; il pourroit venir du nom de la ville de Suse, *Zouzen*, comme Besans de *Byzantium*. Les Syriens et les Chaldéens ont encore un autre nom d'une sorte de monnoie, *zifla*, et par métathèse *zèlafto;* mais la vraie signification de ce mot est fort douteuse."

"S. de SACY."

In a letter to the author on the subject of ancient coins, particularly with the Hindūs, M. Langlès observes:

"Les Egyptiens n'avoient pas de monnoie de métal, et si les Hindous en eussent eu, ils n'auroient pas manqué d'emprunter d'eux cette découverte: au reste je doute de l'existence du système monetaire des anciens Hindous; la langue Sanskrite n'a aucun synonyme pour le mot monnoie, pièce de monnoie; je ne connois que le mot *rastjata* en Bengali, argent, métal, *roupa*, et *roupia;* en effet les plus anciennes nations connues n'avoient point de monnoie. Le *Pana* et le *Drauna* des Hindous sont des poids, et non des monnoies; et le texte Hébraique du mot Sikel, ou Sicle,

ou Shequel, comme on l'écrit dans les langues modernes, est également un poids, comme l'indique la racine même qui signifie *peser*."

To these observations of M. Langlès, it may be added, that, in the Laws of Menu, where hire for servitude is mentioned, it is said *one pana of copper shall be given*; but if by *pana*, a coin were here meant, the word copper would be superfluous. We say, a penny, a shilling, a crown, a guinea; not a penny of copper, or a shilling or crown of silver, or a guinea of gold.

We find in the Scriptures, that 1860 years before our æra, Abraham having purchased a piece of ground for a burying place, weighed to Ephron for it, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchants;* that 121 years afterwards, Jacob bought a parcel of a field where he had spread his tents, for a hundred pieces

* See Genesis, c. xxiii. In the translation of the Bible, the word *money* is employed.

of *money*;* shortly after this, that Joseph was sold by his brethren to Midianite merchants going to Egypt, for twenty pieces of silver;† and that Moses, about 1571 years before our æra, laid a poll-tax of one bekah, or half a selah or shekel, on every male, from twenty years and upwards, for the purpose of building the tabernacle.‡ Solomon, who began his reign 556 years afterwards, sent ships to Ophir,§ which

* Genesis, c. xxxiii. v. 19.

† Idem. c. xxxvii. And on the money, or silver given in payment by the Jews, see Otho Sperlingius, from c. vi. to c. xviii. inclusively.

‡ See Exodus, c. xxxviii. v. 25, 26. The tax according to Brerewood, amounted to eighteen pence English a head, which on 603,550, the number of males mentioned, makes for the whole 45,266 pounds, English money.

§ The Ophir of the Jews is supposed by Bruce, and others, to be the country named Sofala, on that part of the continent of Africa opposite to Madagascar. The ships of Solomon sailed from a place that was named Ezion-Geber, situated at the bottom of the Elanitic gulf; whence proceeding down the Red Sea, or Arabian gulf, they entered the Indian ocean. The voy-

brought back gold, silver, and ivory;* and according to Josephus, the quantity of gold brought in one of those voyages, amounted to 450 talents, which, supposing the Jewish and Attic talent to be the same, would be equal in value to 1,485,000 pounds sterling.

In Assyria and Persia, money, or pieces of precious metals employed for purchase, must have been in use at least as early as among the Hebrews.

Paucton observes, that the *money* of the Hebrews, Egyptians, and people of Asia,

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age, it is said, took up altogether three years, which, when contrasted with the present state of navigation, seems a wonderfully long space, even allowing for the time required to procure the commodities. This, with other circumstances, may have led to the conjecture, that the ships of Solomon visited India. Amongst the things brought back by them, apes and peacocks are mentioned (1 Kings, c. x. v. 22): the former might be procured in Africa, but the peacock is properly an inhabitant of India, whence it was brought into other countries.—*See Buffon*, vol. xvii. p. 288. 4°. *Impr. Roy.*

* 1 Kings, c. x. v. 22.

was the same; but as he does not speak of the money of India, we presume that he means by *Asia*, only the countries included anciently under the names of Assyria and Persia; and if reliance may be placed on what is alleged by him, we might suppose that Assyrian coins may have been taken by antiquarians for Egyptian.*

The Thebaid possessed valuable mines of gold and silver. Diodorus Siculus, describing the mausoleum of a king whom he names Osymandyas, says, that by an inscription on one of the walls of that building, it appeared, that the money procured annually from those mines amounted to 32,000,000 Minæ of Grecian money; that the treasure, left by another king whom he names Cetes, was estimated at one hundred thousand talents by the public; and he describes the procedure observed by the Egyptians in refining metals. Speaking of Diospolis or Thebes, and the devastations Cambyses committed there,

* See Paucton, Métrologie, &c. p. 342.

he says, it was however supposed, that more than three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver were saved from pillage and the flames. The same author, when mentioning the manner of embalming dead bodies, observes, that the first manner cost a talent of silver, the second twenty minæ; and what is still stronger than all the other passages which we have quoted from him, we find,* that by the criminal laws of Egypt, those who counterfeited, or falsified *money*, were punished by having their hands cut off.

Pliny speaks of the Egyptian talent at the time of Cyrus, that is, above 200 years before the expedition of Alexander, and 527 before our æra.† Brerewood says, "Cyrus, devictâ Asiâ, reportavit argenti 500,000 talenta Ægyptiaca, seu Majora

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* Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 27.

† See Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 3.—and Brerewood, p. 30.

Attica. Quod de nostro facit 125,000,000 Lib. Stg."*

Winkelmann, when treating of the arts amongst the Egyptians,† says, "Les monnoies, connues chez les Egyptiens, ne commencent qu'après le règne d'Alexandre. On pourroit même douter que les Egyptiens eussent jamais eu de la monnoie battue, s'il n'en étoit pas fait mention chez les écrivains de l'antiquité, qui parlent entre autres de l'obole qu'on mettoit dans la bouche des morts;"—but after making this observation, he leaves the subject without giving any positive opinion upon it.‡

Carlo Fea, in a note on this passage of Winkelmann,§ observes that Maillet in his description of Egypt, says, that money is found there, and sometimes in great quan-

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* See Brerewood, p. 30.

† See Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens, par Winkelmann; traduit de l'Allemand; Paris, 1802, tom. i. p. 192.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

tities after rains. But on referring to Maillet, I find that neither this, nor any other part of his work furnishes any light to the subject—all he says, is: "On tire de l'Egypte un assez grand nombre de médailles; mais il y en a peu de bonnes. Dans certains tems, elles se trouvent abondamment. Il y en a d'autres, au contraire, où l'on n'en voit point dutout. On trouve aussi à Alexandrie, surtout en hiver lorsqu'il a plû, certaines pierres gravées représentant diverses figures de femmes et d'animaux."* But the money mentioned by him, may be Greek, Roman, or any other coin.

Pieces of gold found in the mouths of *mummies*, exist in several cabinets of Europe;† but as they have no effigy or in-

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* See Description de l'Egypte composée sur les Mémoires de M. de Maillet, Ancien Consul de France au Caire, par M. l'Abbé de Maserier, tom. ii. p. 38. Paris, 1735.

† There is one to be seen in the collection of medals in the Royal Library at Paris.

scription on them, and as Fea observes, *ressemblent à peu-près à une feuille de bruyère,* they may be taken as an argument to prove that the Egyptians had no regular coin.

The period, when money first began to be in use with the Greeks, cannot, I believe, be positively ascertained. Had we not proofs to the contrary, it might have been presumed to have been introduced among them in the early part of their intercourse with the Phenicians; but (as I have already observed) Pausanias positively asserts, that, above 800 years after the arrival of Danaus and Cadmus, it was unknown in Greece: he says, that the widow of Polidorus, king of Sparta, who died in the first year of the fifteenth Olympiad, about 720 years before our æra, having sold the house of her late husband, the price was paid in cattle; for, *at that time, the use of gold and silver money was unknown, and what was wanted was procured by giving in barter one commodity for another, as cattle, slaves,*

*and pieces of unwrought gold and silver.** But if, at the time Cadmus left Phenicia about 1550 years before our æra, money had been in use there, he would hardly have neglected to introduce it into Greece; which certainly would have been a much easier operation than the introduction of the Phenician alphabet, which is attributed to him; his not doing so may be considered as a proof that it did not exist in Phenicia at the time he left it; and that the money spoken of by ancient authors, was nothing more than pieces of metals, and not what we understand by the word *money* or *coin*. Previously to its being invented, and brought into circulation, the giving of commodities in exchange for others, or in payment of service, must have been practised by all nations. The comparative value of different articles seems to have been regulated;† and the learned Cheva-

* See Pausanias, lib. iii. c. 12.

† Ibid.—Iliad, lib. ii. v. 449, and lib. vi. v. 236.—Genesis, c. xxxiii. v. 19.

lier Visconti supposes this to be the origin of primitive coins having the effigy of the ox or sheep on them. He says: "Avant l'invention de la monnoie, on faisoit souvent en nombre de bœufs ou de brebis l'évaluation des denrées ou des objets manufacturés. Nous trouvons dans l'Iliade des évaluations à cent bœufs et a neuf bœufs, (lib. ii. v. 449 et lib. vi. v. 236) et dans le Genese une évaluation en agneaux (Genese, c. xxxiii. v. 19). En conséquence il n'est pas hors des convenances d'avoir représenté sur une pièce d'argent ou de bronze la figure de l'animal dont cette pièce devoit être un équivalent. Nous ne pouvons pas nous refuser à reconnoître un grand nombre de monnoies d'argent de la plus haute antiquité, ayant pour type la figure ou la demie-figure d'un bœuf. Nous la retrouvons sur quelques médailles des Chalcédoniens, qui suivant l'usage des premiers tems du monnoyage n'ont de type que d'un seul côté; nous la retrouvons aussi sur des médailles du même genre qui par leurs types sont attribuées aux Epirotes et aux Macé-

doniens; nous retrouvons enfin la partie antérieure d'un bœuf sur de belles médailles de Samos, qui par le style de l'art, semblent dater de la plus haute antiquité. En voilà assez pour rendre compte de quelques expressions des Grecs, où le mot *bœuf* fait allusion à une monnoie.* Passons à la brebis des monnoies Romaines, et au mot *pecunia* derivé de *pecus*.

"Pline en faisant allusion à cette étymologie, dit que le Roi Servius Tullius *ovium boumque effigie primus aes signavit*: Varron, Ciceron, Ovide, Plutarque, sans nommer Servius, sont d'accord sur ce type des monnoies de bronze les plus anciennes. Eckhel a de bonnes raisons pour ne pas croire que le type d'une brebis a été empreint sur les monnoies Romaines primitives. Il oppose à ces autorités d'autres autorités qui prouvent que la tête de Janus et un Navire ont été les véritables types de ces monnoies; ce

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* When a person was supposed to have received a bribe for silence, it was said that an ox prevented his tongue from moving.

qui nous est confirmé par les *as* Romains qui nous restent. Quant au mot *pecunia,* il le dérive de l'usage que nous avons indiqué, et que l'on faisoit alors des animaux compris sous la dénomination générale de *pecus* dans l'évaluation et dans les échanges des denrées. Je crois qu'il ne se trompe pas par rapport aux monnoies de bronze frappées par les Romains; mais d'ailleurs on ne peut pas contester que le type d'un bœuf, animal compris sous la dénomination de *pecus, (pecus majus, pecus bubulum)* n'ait été empreint sur ces masses rectangulaires de bronze coulé, qui semblent avoir dévancé la fabrication des monnoies régulières, chez plusieurs peuples de l'Italie. On pourroit croire que ces morceaux de cuivre, ayant pour type un bœuf, étoient, dans les échanges de cet âge reculé, l'équivalent du prix d'un bœuf. M. J. Byres, que vous avez connu à Rome, a possédé quelques unes de ces pièces rectangulaires du poids de quatre et de six livres Romaines, et M. d'Hancarville les a fait graver dans le premier volume de ses *Re-*

cherches, pl. 2 et 9. Molinet et Passeri en ont publié de pareilles. Ainsi on a pu dire que le bœuf, *pecus*, a été un des types des monnoies primitives de l'Italie, ce qui justifie l'étymologie du mot *pecunia*, telle que les écrivains anciens eux-mêmes nous l'ont transmise.

" Cependant le bœuf a été très rarement le type de la monnoie de bronze frappée à Rome. Dans la collection de Ste. Genevieve, et dans celle du Cardinal Zelada à Rome, existoit autrefois un *as* Romain du poids de huit onces et plus, ayant pour types, d'un côté la tête de Rome ou de Minerve, de l'autre côté un taureau marchant; dans l'exergue la légende ROMA, et dans le haut du champ le chiffre I, désignant la valeur d'un *as*. Cet *as*, quoique très-ancien, ne sauroit être regardé comme une monnoie primitive. Les premiers *as* devoient peser une livre Romaine, ou douze onces."*

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* Letter from the Chevalier Visconti to the Author, dated 17th August, 1814.

Without being able to determine the period when the Greeks began to use money, the passage of Pausanias I have quoted, and other circumstances, shew when they had none. The Chevalier Visconti is of opinion that the Athenians themselves never fabricated any gold money: "Quoiqu'en disent quelques scholiastes, il semble que les Athéniens n'ont jamais fabriqué des monnoies d'or. Ils en ont frappé d'argent depuis les premières époques du monnoyage, et ensuite ils en ont frappé de bronze. Les Athéniens, comme les Romains, faisoient usage des monnoies d'or étrangères, particulièrement de celles des Rois de Macedoine. Ainsi les Philippes d'or étoient à Rome comme à Athênes la mesure commune des évaluations en or."*

Effigies on the Greek coins, taken from mythology, or in allusion to the respective states where they were struck, were pro-

* Letter from the Chevalier Visconti to the Author, 17th August, 1814.

bably posterior to those with the head of the ox on them. On the Athenian silver coins, we find on one side the head of Pallas, and on the reverse an owl sitting on an oil jar. The meaning of those effigies is obvious. Minerva was the guardian divinity of Attica; oil, its principal production; and the owl, at the same time an emblem of sagacity, and a sentinel to advise the goddess of what passed during night.*

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* "Les opinions que vous avez adoptées sur les médailles d'Athênes sont justes. Il est vrai, presque toutes les monnoies d'argent de cette ville ont les deux types que vous décrivez, la tête de Minerve d'un côté, et la chouette de l'autre. Je dis presque toutes, parcequ'on a marqué quelques exceptions, mais elles sont très-rares, peu signifiantes, et ordinairement elles n'ont lieu que dans les subdivisions de la drachme Attique.

"La chouette est ordinairement perchée sur un vase *diota*, car il est à deux manches, et l'opinion générale est que ce vase est supposé contenir de l'huile. En adoptant cette opinion très-fondée, je pense que ce vase pouvoit désigner le vase d'argile, orné de peintures, qu'on remplissoit de l'huile qui avoit été tirée des oliviers sacrés appelés proprement Moriæ. Ces *Moriæ*

Many of the Lacedemonian coins bear the head of Hercules, and most of them have something alluding to the Dioscuri. The race of Hercules reigned at Sparta almost a thousand years. Aristodemus, who descended in the fifth generation from that hero, conquered Laconia almost 1200 years

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étoient une douzaine d'oliviers, plantés près de l'Académie, et qu'on disoit avoir été des rejetons de l'olivier miraculeux que l'on conservoit à l'Acropole dans le portique des Cargatides, et qu'on disoit avoir été produit par un coup de lance de la déesse elle-même, lorsqu'elle disputoit à son oncle Neptune la possession de l'Attique. Ce vase d'argile rempli de l'huile des *Moriæ* étoit le prix des vainqueurs aux jeux Panathéens. Voyez Suidas, v. Moriæ, et Hesychius au même mot, Meursius, *Panathenæa*, chap. xi. &c.

"Quant à la chouette, elle a plusieurs rapports avec la déesse d'Athênes, entr'autres celui de la couleur de ses yeux. Voyez Phurnutus ou Cornutus *de Natura Deorum*, c. 20, où ce mythologiste remarque que cette couleur verdâtre, *color glaucus cæsius*, est celle des yeux dans les animaux carnassiers et guerriers. La chouette, comme vous savez, prend en Grec le nom de *Glaux*, et Minerve est appelée *Glaucopis* par Homere (*cæsios habens oculos*)."—*Letter from the Chevalier Visconti to the Author, dated 24th August*, 1814.

before our æra, and was succeeded by his two sons, Procles and Eurysthenes, who formed the two houses of the Eurysthenides or Agides, and Proclides or Eurypontides, and whose descendants reigned jointly until about 200 years before our æra: Sparta was the birth-place of Castor and Pollux: these circumstances sufficiently explain the effigies on the Lacedemonian coins.

The coins of all the other Peloponnesian states have also something allusive to them. Those of Corinth had the figure of Neptune with a trident in his hand riding on a Pegasus. On Thessalian coins a horse is seen,—the Thessalians being famous horsemen, and their force consisting entirely of cavalry. The Byzantine coins had a dolphin twisted round the trident of Neptune. On some Macedonian coins we observe the goat, probably in allusion to the tradition of its having served as conductor to Caranus and his brothers; but in general they bore the effigy of the sovereign. The most ancient that is known, is of the first Alexander. It is said that Philip, who mounted

the throne in the year 360 before our æra, or about 100 years after the death of that Alexander, was so elated at having gained the prize of the chariot race at the Olympic games, that he caused coins to be struck, with a chariot upon them.* It has been pretended that his son and successor Alexander the Great, forbade his own effigy to be put on the coins, and that all the gold money struck during his reign, had on one side a head of Minerva, on the other a figure of Victory; and the silver coins a head of a young Hercules on one side, and on the reverse Jupiter, in a sitting posture. The author, however, remembers to have seen a piece of silver Macedonian money, about the size of a half crown piece, which was found in the north of India; and from what he recollected of a bust which he had seen of Alexander, the head on the coin appeared to him to be exactly the same: and he was

* Of these several are to be met with in the cabinets of the curious: one of them is in the author's possession.

confirmed in the belief of its being the effigy of that monarch, on examining the fine Grecian bust of him in the Museum at Paris, which opinion was corroborated by what is said by the Chevalier Visconti in his *Iconographie Grecque.** The gold coin of Macedonia, even under Philip, and before the conquests of Alexander, must have been very considerable, as the gold procured by him annually from the mines in Thrace, is stated at a thousand talents, or 3,300,000 pounds, English money.†

But, about a century before that time, money must have been in considerable quantities in other parts of Greece, and particularly at Athens; as at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, in the year 431 before our æra, Pericles, when giving an account of the revenue and resources of the Athenian state, after observing that it was free from debt, says, that six thousand talents were lying in the treasury in the

* See tom. ii. p. 42.

† Diod. Siculus, lib. iii.

Acropolis;* that the sum there deposited had amounted to 9,700 talents, but that 2000 had been expended in erecting the building named the Propylæa, and 1,700 in the war with the Potidœans.

Copper money is said to have been first employed at Rome, under Numa Pompilius, a little more than 700 years before our æra, but in pieces of that metal of a certain shape and weight, without stamp or effigy. It only began to be stamped under Servius Tullius about 180 years afterwards. Silver coin was first introduced about 259 years before our æra,†

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* In speaking of Grecian money, we shall follow the value given to Attic money, by Bernard:

	£.	s.	d.
A Drachma	0	0	8¾
A Mina, 100 Drachmæ	3	8	9
A Silver Talent	206	5	0
A Gold Talent	3,300	0	0

If the silver talent be here meant, the sum deposited in the Acropolis, amounted to 1,237,500 pounds sterling; but if the gold talent be meant, to 21,800,000 pounds.

† Populus Romanus ne argento quidem signato, ante

and gold coin must have been brought into use some years later; though neither the exact epoch, nor under whose authority it was first struck, is known. Pliny says: "Proximum scelus fecit, qui primus ex auro denarium signavit: quod et ipsum latet actore incerto."* Both, however, date above a hundred years after the death of Pericles; —a circumstance that seems extraordinary, when we consider the abundance of gold and silver coins at Athens at that epoch, and the connexion which had so long existed between the Italians and Greeks. Placing the effigy of the chief of the state on Roman coins, was a distinction granted by the senate to Julius Cæsar,† and after-

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Pyrrhum regem devictum, usus est. Librales (unde etiam nunc libella dicitur, et dupondius), appendebantur asses.—*Plin. Hist. Natur.* lib. xxxiii. c. 3.

* Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 3.

† "Il existe des monnoies d'argent et d'or avec l'effigie de César, qui ont été frappées de son vivant, l'an 709, et l'an 710, de la fondation de Rome. Dion, (lib. xliv. c. 4) nous apprend que le sénat avoit accordé à César le privilége d'avoir son effigie empreinte sur la

wards practised under the emperors that succeeded him. In the time of Augustus money was in great abundance at Rome, and continued for some time even to increase. Brerewood, quoting Suetonius, says: "Tiberius Cæsar corasit et reliquit vigesies septies millies Sestertiûm. Quod totum ante annum Caligula dissipavit;"—

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monnoie Romaine; et plusieurs médailles nous assurent que ce décret fut mis en exécution.

"Les médailles de César avec sa tête, frappées de son vivant, sont celles qui présentent du côté de la tête les légendes *Cæsar Imperator*, *Cæsar Dictator quarto*, *Cæsar Dictator perpetuo*, *Cæsar Parens Patriæ*, et se trouvent gravées dans le *Thesaurus familiarum Romanorum* de Morellius, sous les familles *Æmilia*, *Cossutia*, et *Mettia;* car Lucius Æmilius Buca, Marcus Mettius, et Caius Cossutius Mariclianus sont les magistrats qui les ont fait frapper. Sur la plûpart de ces monnoies, le type du revers est Vénus victorieuse, *Venus victrix*, qui avoit été le mot de l'ordre dans la bataille de Pharsale.

"Un plus grand nombre de médailles à l'effigie de César ont été fabriquées après sa mort, et la plûpart sous les triumvirs. Alors la légende offre ordinairement l'épithete de *Divus* attribuée à César."—*Letter from Chevalier Visconti to the Author, dated* 17*th August*, 1814.

and he computes this in English money at 21,093,750 pounds sterling. Notwithstanding the dissipations of Caligula and Nero, and the vast sums then sent into foreign countries to procure articles of luxury, in the time of Pliny, whose death happened eleven years after that of Nero, money seems to have been still very abundant, if we may form a judgment of it by the immense public charges, the inordinate expenses of the emperor and persons of rank, and the quantities of specie that continued to be annually exported. On the author's expressing to the Chevalier Visconti, the difficulty he found in tracing the sources whence the Romans continued so long to receive the prodigious sums that appear to have been expended and exported by them, M. Visconti, in a letter to him on the subject, observes: "Les anciens tiroient les métaux précieux pour la plus grande partie de l'Afrique, dont les mines qui existent, à ce que l'on croit, sur les côtes Orientales de cette immense péninsule, aujourd'hui ne sont pas exploitées. En outre,

de plusieurs mines de l'Espagne et d'autres contrées de l'empire Romain, mines qui sont maintenant épuisées, ou que l'on a abandonnées comme peu profitables. Les métaux précieux monnoiés devoient s'élever dans l'empire Romain à une valeur immense, à ce que l'on peut juger par le nombre infini de pièces d'or des Empereurs Romains, que depuis tant de siècles on trouve et on fond tous les jours."—It is said, that in the mines of Spain alone, 40,000 workmen were employed.* But all those resources gradually declined, many of them became entirely exhausted; luxury and public expenditure continued; the money in circulation rapidly disappeared; to supply the want of it, recourse was had to the ruinous measure of debasing the coin, by encreasing the alloy. In the time of Caracalla, or about 174 years after the death of Tiberius, half the weight of the coin was of base metal; under Alexander Severus, who was proclaimed Emperor

* Strabo, lib. iii.

about fourteen years after the death of Caracalla, two thirds was alloy; and under Gallienus, who began to reign about twenty-five years after Severus, copper washed with silver was put in circulation, and forced on the public for the value of the coin it represented.

If it seem extraordinary that people so enlightened as the ancient Hindūs and Egyptians appear to have been, did not, at the times we have been treating of, fabricate money, it is at least as surprising that the Chinese, one of the most industrious people in the world, are, even at this hour, without money of their own, and continue to give and receive in payment metals by weight according to their quality. Vast quantities of coin annually flow into their country from the nations they trade with; they cannot, therefore, be ignorant of its utility; but if the nations with whom the ancient Hindūs and Egyptians had intercourse, were, like themselves, without money, we may at most accuse them of want of invention, but not of obstinately,

like the Chinese, refusing to profit by the example of other nations. It may also excite surprise that the Romans, notwithstanding their connexion with the Greeks, should not have employed the precious metals in coins much earlier than they did. The historian may record facts, but cannot always explain them. The coins mentioned by Mr. Chambers to have been found at Mavalipouram, and those which it is said, are to be met with in Nepaul, Boutan, Assam, Thibet, and among the ruins of Oujein, though called ancient, and now entitled to be so named, may, nevertheless, be of dates many years subsequent to the expedition of Alexander into India; and what has been translated money from the Sanscrit writings, we may suspect to be nothing more than pieces of metals of a certain weight and touch, prepared for the purposes to which money is applied.

But, notwithstanding the preceding doubts we have stated relative to the existence of money at a remote period in India, previously to the time Pausanias wrote,

those doubts were, however, to a certain degree weakened, by viewing some ancient gold, silver, and copper Hindū coins, which are deposited in the Library at the India House, and were shewn to the author by Dr. Wilkins since his return to England. They are without dates, but as the names of two distinct sovereigns are upon them, it is to be hoped that Dr. Wilkins, from his knowledge of the Sanscrit language, and of the mythology and history of the Hindūs, will be able to ascertain the epoch when they were struck. Two of the gold coins, are very beautiful, and might be supposed to be medals, struck to commemorate some event, as was practised by the Greeks and Romans, and has been continued through modern times. I shall nevertheless conclude this article by inserting another letter from the Chevalier Visconti, in which he treats the question of the origin of ancient money in general.

"J'ai lu, Monsieur, la note savante que vous avez écrite sur l'antiquité des monnoies. Je n'ai jamais prétendu que mon

opinion dût être l'opinion générale; je savois même que le plus grand nombre des savans qui se sont occupés de ces recherches, sont d'un avis contraire; mais je n'en tiens pas moins à l'opinion que je vous énonçai, la dernière fois que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire.

"Les passages de la Bible ne me semblent d'aucune valeur pour décider la question de l'antiquité des monnoies. On parle dans la Genèse (c. xxiii.) de sicles, c'est-à-dire de certain poids (shequel) d'argent; on les pèse (shaqual), mais le terme *monnoie* ne se trouve pas dans le texte où il n'existe d'autre phrase que celle-ci: "argent qui a cours chez les marchands," expression qui se rapporte évidemment au titre. Ainsi le mot *pièces* n'existe pas non plus dans l'endroit où l'on parle de la vente de Joseph (Genèse, c. xxxvii.). Trente sicles d'argent, c'est comme si l'on disoit trente onces d'argent ou autre poids déterminé. Ailleurs l'auteur sacré emploie le mot *quesita* (c. xxxii.), mot si sujet à la dispute que la plûpart des interprêtes Orientaux

l'ont traduit pour *agneau*. *Betsah* (Exodus, c. xxxviii.), désigne un morceau. Ce mot est tiré du verbe *Batsah*, rompre, déchirer; et dans ces phrases il signifie *moitié*; c'est-à-dire la moitié de ce poids déterminé d'argent qu'on désigne par le mot *schequel* ou sicle, et qui étoit fixé par un patron que l'on gardoit dans le tabernacle.

" Les métaux précieux ont servi aux échanges dans l'Orient depuis des siècles très reculés. On les raffinoit, pour cet usage, jusqu'à un certain point. Pour la commodité du commerce de détail, on morceloit les lingots en petites pièces, qui étoient à peu-près d'un poids déterminé, sauf à le vérifier dans les occasions. On subdivisoit ces morceaux par moitiés, et de-là le *shequel* et le *Betsah*. Tout celà n'étoit pas encore la monnoie. Cette invention suppose que le métal précieux soit marqué d'une empreinte par une autorité compétente qui puisse garantir le titre et même le poids de la piéce. Les simples morceaux d'argent usités dans le commerce depuis un tems immémorial, ont été dé-

signés par des savans sous la dénomination de *Nummi non cusi,* et ont fait le sujet d'un bel ouvrage de Otho Sperlingius, *De Nummis non cusis,* imprimé à Amsterdam l'an 1700, in 4to, ouvrage où cette matière a été savamment traitée et éclaircie. L'Egypte, l'Assyrie, la Perse et l'Inde, n'ont point connu d'autre monnoie, avant que les Grecs n'eussent inventé la véritable. Je ne déciderai pas si les premiers inventeurs des monnoies ont été les Lydiens, comme le veut Hérodote (lib. i. c. 94.), ou les Argiens, comme l'assurent les marbres d'Oxford (Epoque, xxxi.), Strabon, et d'autres.

" Quant au passage de Diodore, où cet historien parle du châtiment que les loix de l'Egypte infligeoient aux faux-monnoieurs, on doit l'expliquer par rapport à l'altération des *Nummi non cusi,* ou à celle des monnoies Aryandiques, qu'Aryandes, gouverneur de l'Egypte sous Darius d'Hystaspe, fut le premier à faire frapper dans cette contrée. Les conjectures de Winkelmann sur une monnoie qui ressemble aux feuilles de bruyère, et qu'on a cru avoir été

frappées en Egypte, sont très-foibles ; elles ne sont pas avouées par la plus saine critique.

" Hérodote avoit voyagé en Egypte et dans la haute Asie: il auroit dû connoître les monnoies anciennes de ces peuples, si elles avoient existé. Un antiquaire ne peut avoir d'autre opinion que celle des Grecs. Il voit sur les monnoies Grecques, les tentatives, les premiers essais, les pas ultérieurs et le perfectionnement graduel du monnoyage. Si cet art eut été une invention étrangère, les Grecs l'auroient adopté dans cet état de perfectionnement qu'une longue suite de siècles auroit dû lui donner. Mais je n'ai pas le tems de traiter comme il faut cette belle question. J'ajouterai seulement que les plus anciennes monnoies qui existent aujourd'hui sont sans aucune contestation l'ouvrage des Grecs."

But after all that has been here stated, it must be allowed that the subject still lies open to discussion.*

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* The reader may consult on ancient coins and weights, Bernard, de Mensuris et Ponderibus Antiquis. Brerewood,

It is evident that the Hindūs, in the remotest times of which we have account, not only knew the art of refining metals, but had many able and ingenious artisans, who afterwards fashioned them into works of utility or ornament. In the Ayeen Akbery they are said to have been greatly superior in the art of refining and working them to the people of any other country. The prodigious wealth of India, in jewels, gold, and silver, is celebrated by numerous writers. Alexander in the speech to his troops after his victory over Porus, tells them that they were now going to enter those famous countries so abundant

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Brerewood, de Ponderibus et Pretiis Veterum Nummorum. Arbuthnot, Tabulæ Antiquorum Nummorum. Rechenberg, Hist. Rei. Num. Veteris, particularly the part by Gulielmus Budæus. Gronovius, de Pecunia Vetere. Kircher, Œdipus Egyptiacus, &c. Otho Sperlingius. Ugolino, Thesaurus Antiquitatum. Paucton, Métrologie. Science Numismatique, œuvres diverses de l'Abbé Barthelemy, tom ii. together with his different Essays on the same subject in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, by l'Abbé Eckhel of Vienna.

in riches, that all they had found and seen in Persia would appear as nothing, in comparison with them.* Alexander neither penetrated far into India, nor remained long there, and the treasures brought away by him in his short course, must have been soon replaced by the commerce which his expedition procured to the Hindus with Egypt, under the Ptolemies, and which was greatly extended and increased after that country became subject to the Romans. The trade of India with foreign nations, was almost entirely maintained by its productions of gems, drugs, spices, and gums, together with its numerous valuable manufactures. The amount of the goods received being much inferior to that furnished by it, the balance in its favor was paid in specie; the money which once entered India, as now in China, remained there; hence its wealth in the precious metals must have continued to increase yearly, from the time we are speaking of, down to

* See Quintus Curtius, lib. ix. c. 1.

the beginning of the eighth century of our æra, the epoch given to the first appearance of its Mohammedan conquerors, in the person of Valīd, the sixth of the Khalifs of the Ommiad dynasty. His conquests seem to have been confined to places contiguous to the Indus: but Mahmoud, sovereign of Ghizni, who entered India in 1002, is said to have subdued the countries southward as far as Visiapour, every where plundering and amassing riches, demolishing the temples, and putting numbers of the inhabitants of the country to the sword, for the sole offence of refusing to preserve life at the price of abjuring their religion. The accounts given by eastern historians of the wealth found by him, though they must appear fabulous, yet shew that it was immense. Mahmoud died in 1028. His successors named Ghiznavides, from Ghizni, the capital of their dominions, continued to reign until 1157, when Shehab-eddin was deposed by Hussein Gauri, so named from Gaur, a province to the north of Ghizni. The Gaurides got possession of all the ter-

ritories that had been enjoyed by their predecessors on both sides of the Indus. Shah-Abdin, the fourth of the Gauride princes, during the life of his brother and predecessor, conquered Delhi and Moultan. After he became Emperor, he brought such prodigious riches from India to Ghizni, that, on his favourite daughter inquiring of the treasurer to what value they amounted, he answered, that there were three thousand pounds weight in diamonds only, by which she might judge of the rest. A private Hindū inflamed with indignation at the pollutions committed, and tyranny exercised by Shah-Abdin, vowed to kill him, and executed his vow. The dynasty of the Gaurides finished in 1212, in the person of Mahmoud, his nephew and successor. On the death of Mahmoud, who left no children, his dominions seem to have been separated and kept by the different viceroys, or officers, who governed them. In India, one of these named Nasser-Adin, kept Moultan; another, Kothab-Adin, Delhy; and on the west of the Indus, Tagy-Adin,

Ghizni. In 1214, Mohammed, prince of Korasan, took possession of Ghizni, but was expelled from it, as well as from his own territory, Korasan, by Gengis-Khan. The history of the Mohammedan conquests in India, of their rulers, and revolutions, till about the end of the fourteenth century, is a labyrinth which we shall avoid entering into, and is indeed a subject foreign to our present purpose. Those of Mahmoud, the Ghiznavide, had led to others; but the expedition of Tamerlane completed the ruin of the Hindū empire, and fixed on succeeding generations a lasting train of miseries. Tamerlane, in virtue of the conquests of Gengis-Khan, having granted to his grandson Mirza Pir Mahomed-Gehangir, all the dominions that were supposed to belong to the Ghiznian empire, on both sides of the Indus, he, early in 1398, crossed that river, marched to and subdued Moultan, while his grandfather advanced at the head of a powerful army from Samarcand. Tamerlane having also entered India, was met by his grandson, and after subduing the town

and provinces of Delhy, marched with a part of his army in a north-east direction as far as the place where the Ganges issues out of the mountains of Srinagur, about 100 miles E. N. E. of Hurdwar. From thence, moving in a north-west direction along the skirts of the Sewalic mountains, he quitted India at the spot where he had entered it.* His whole course through that henceforward devoted country, was marked with blood and devastation. In one single day he caused a hundred thousand Hindū prisoners to be put to death, because they were judged by him to be idolaters. The riches carried away by Tamerlane, are said to have yet exceeded those which had been amassed by the Gauride prince Shah-Abdín. The disappearance of this malignant meteor, was succeeded by scenes of persecutions and warfare, during which it may be presumed the Hindūs endeavoured, as much

* See the march of Timur, in Rennell, p. 115 and seq.

as possible to conceal their treasures.* But the immense wealth of India was anciently to be found principally in the temples, and in the palaces of the princes and nobles. In the former were numerous images of massive gold and silver, and many of them enriched with the most precious gems of the east. Almost every individual had his household gods, formed of more or less valuable materials according to the means of the possessor. They who could not afford to have them in the precious metals, had them of brass, and even of clay. In descriptions of palaces that are to be met with, we read of ceilings of rooms plated with pure gold

* "In the plains of India, also, not less than in those of Europe, are supposed to lie buried treasures, principally in bullion, to an incalculable amount, deposited there during the ravages and oppression of successive conquerors, through at least eight centuries of anarchy and tumult; I mean from the seventh century, to the mild and peaceable reign of Akber. These are now and then, though rarely, discovered, and sometimes Greek coins."—*Maurice's Indian Antiquities*, vol. vii. p. 546.

and silver, and columns of the latter entwined with vines of gold. Quintus Curtius says, that when the Hindū princes went abroad, they were carried in litters* of gold, ornamented with fringes of pearls, and were preceded by numerous officers carrying censers of silver to perfume the way. In the Ayeen Akbery, we have an account of the jewels and ornaments anciently worn by Hindū women, which serves to give an idea of the variety, quantity, and great value of those ornaments.

But notwithstanding the wealth with which India abounded, it is very possible that the precious metals in circulation, instead of being in proportion to that wealth, were but in proportion to the demands of traffic. It has been observed, that none was employed for the purpose of purchasing the productions of other countries, and

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* Meaning the palankin. But, supposing the gold and silver of the ceilings, the columns, and the palankins, to have been merely laminæ, which undoubtedly was the case, the quantities of those metals thus employed must have been immense.

with the Hindus, the mode and habits of living never change: from the mildness of their climate, their wants are fewer than those of the inhabitants of colder regions; and the prices of things necessary for food and raiment, are cheaper than in almost any other part of the polished world. The principal food of the Hindūs is rice, vegetables, and milk; those who are permitted to eat animal food, are commanded to do it sparingly, and spirituous liquors of every kind are positively forbidden. Scarcity of water naturally lessens the harvests; failure in the periodical rains, may produce famine; but, in the ordinary state of things, a labourer may be supplied with his wants of every kind with about two-pence English a day, in all the parts of India that we have visited.*

* Though the prices at the principal European settlements, even of the productions of the country, are higher than those in places remote from them, yet when the author left India, the hire of one of the best household servants, at Madrass, was two pagodas, or about fifteen shillings a month, for which he fed and clothed himself.

and family, if he had any. His dress consisted of a clean white linen robe descending to his feet, a sash and turban. "The food of an Indian is very simple; the diet of one is the same with that of millions, namely, rice, with split pulse and salt to relieve its insipidity. Two and a half ounces of salt, two pounds of split pulse, and eight pounds of rice, form the usual daily consumption of a family of five persons in easy circumstances,"*—but to this fare, those who can afford the expense, add refined butter, named ghee, in the cookery, as well as other ingredients, to which Europeans give the general name of *curry stuff*. All but the several classes of Brahmins may eat certain animal food. It is superfluous to repeat that the use of the cow species is positively prohibited, it is even declared to be a high crime to ill treat or injure the animal. Throughout Hindūstan, the wild hog, water-fowl, and various sorts of game are to be met with, and at a very moderate rate. The quality of mutton differs according to the nature of the pasture; in the northern Circars, and particularly near to Masulipatam, it is remarkably good, and the price of a sheep, chosen out of a numerous flock, was, when the author was in India, a rupee, or little more than two shillings English money.

"The hire of a labourer, when paid in money, may be justly estimated at something less than two-pence sterling a day. In cities and large towns the hire of a day-labourer is, indeed, greater, because provisions are

* See Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, 1804, p. 90.

there dearer, and the separation of the man from his family renders larger earnings necessary to their support; but, even, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, men may he hired for field-labour at the rate of two rupees and a half *per mensem*, which is equivalent to twopence halfpenny *per diem*."*

* See Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, 1804, p. 131.

CHAPTER III.

THE HINDŪ ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

In the reign of a prince named Satyavrata, the earth was covered with the waters, and every living creature destroyed, excepting the pious prince himself, seven Rishis, or saints, who accompanied him with their wives, and a male and female of each species of living creatures; which, by the command of the preserving deity, were saved in a ship that had been prepared for the purpose. After seven days spent on the universal ocean, finding ground, the vessel was fastened to it. When the deluge had subsided, Vishnu appearing, instructed Satyavrata in divine knowledge, naming him the Seventh Menu, and Vaivaswata, or "child of the sun." Such is in sub-

stance the history given by the Hindūs of the deluge, after divesting that history of its numerous allegories and fables. "Let us compare," says Sir William Jones, "the two Indian accounts of the Creation and the Deluge, with those delivered by Moses. It is not made a question in this tract, whether the first chapters of Genesis are to be understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical sense; the only points before us are, whether the creation described by the *first Menu*, which the Brahmins called that of the Lotos, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture; and whether the story of the *seventh Menu* be not one and the same with that of Noah. I propose the questions, but affirm nothing."*

* See Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 232; vol. ii. p. 118; and vol. iii. p. 484.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MYTHOLOGY, &c. OF THE HINDŪS; AND ITS AFFINITY WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

THE affinity discoverable between the mythology of the Hindūs, and that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, appears to us so very conspicuous, as almost to exclude doubt of their having one common origin.

In the Ganesa of the Hindūs, we discover the Janus of the Romans. In Europe he was the god of wisdom; in India he is the same; and in other respects equally resembles him. All sacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addresses to superior deities, and all worldly affairs of moment, are commenced by pious Hindūs, with an address to Ganesa. In many parts

of India, every new built house has the name of Ganesa inscribed upon it. Few books are begun without the words "Salutation to Ganesa."*

In Saturn, Sir William Jones recognizes Menu or Satyavrata, whose patronymic name was Vaivaswata, or child of the sun; and whom the Hindūs believe to have reigned over the world in the earliest age of their chronology. As the god of time, or rather as time personified, Saturn was represented holding a scythe in one hand, and in the other a serpent with its tail in its mouth,—the symbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of ages: sometimes he is to be seen in the act of devouring years in the form of children, and sometimes encircled by the seasons, appearing like boys and girls.

A relation between Yama, brother of Menu, and the Grecian Minos, the supposed son of Jove, may be inferred from his being distinguished, among other attri-

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* Jones.

butes, as judge of departed souls. In this character Yama is likewise named Darham Rajah. He has a sceptre in his hand, and rides on a buffalo. He has two genii under him, named Chiter and Gopt. The former has the charge of reporting the good, the other the bad actions of mankind; and that these may be exactly known, two inferior genii attend on every one of the human species, that of Chiter on the right, and that of Gopt on the left. The Hindūs believe, that, when a soul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to Yamapur, or the city of Yama, where it is judged according to what may have been the conduct of the deceased in this life; on receiving sentence it either ascends to heaven, or is driven to Narac, the region of serpents; or is sent back to earth to animate other bodies of men or animals, until its vicious inclination be corrected.

Jupiter, the *father of gods and men*, and worshipped under a variety of names, seems to comprehend under these the different attributes of the triple divinity of the Hindūs,

Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, or Mahadeva, "for that is the order in which they are expressed by the letters A, U, M, which coalesce and form the mystical word, O M, a word which never escapes the lips of a pious Hindū, and can only be a subject for his silent meditation. This triple deity is sometimes named *Vishnu, the pervader*, and *Narayan*, or *moving on the waters*: when he is viewed as a destroyer, he is called Siva, and other names: Brahma appears as the great lawgiver. The first operations of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma, are variously described by a number of allegories, "and from them we may deduce the Ionian philosophy of primæval water, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the Nymphæa Lotos;"* on which, in ancient sculptures, Brahma is seen floating on the waters. It is also a favourite symbol in Egyptian sculptures.

Vishnu is sometimes represented as riding on a Garuda, or Garura, a species of eagle,

* Jones.

or large kite, which is highly venerated by the Brahmins, particularly those on the coast of Coromandel.* One of his names, in his preserving quality, is Hāry.†

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* It is there vulgarly named by the English, the *Brahminy Kite.*

† "Nearly opposite to Sultan-gunge, a considerable town in the province of Bahar, there stands a rock of granite, forming a small island in the midst of the Ganges, known to Europeans by the name of *the rock of Jehangueery;* which is highly worthy the traveller's notice, on account of a vast number of images carved in relief upon every part of its surface. Amongst these there is Hāry, of a gigantic size, recumbent upon a coiled serpent, whose heads, which are numerous, the artist has contrived to spread into a kind of canopy over the sleeping god, and from each of its mouths issues a forked tongue, seeming to threaten death to any whom rashness might prompt to disturb him. The whole figure lies almost detached from the block on which it is hewn; is finely imagined, and executed with great skill. The Hindūs are taught to believe, that at the end of every *Calpa,* or creation, all things are absorbed in the deity, and that in the interval between another creation, he reposeth himself on the serpent *Sesha,* duration, and who is also called *Ananta,* or endless."—*Note of Mr. Wilkins to his translation of the Heetopades.*

"The

Jupiter, in the capacity of *Avenger* or *Destroyer*, encountered and overthrew the Titans and Giants, to whom an eagle

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" The use of images by the Hindūs, for the purpose of heightening devotion, is at least as old as the Puranas; and it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this circumstance, so little progress has been made in the arts of sculpture and painting. They may, perhaps, be admitted to equal the remains of Egyptian sculpture which have reached us; but are still infinitely inferior, in these particulars, to most nations, amongst whom religion has called in the assistance of the fine arts. We think it probable, that the progress of sculpture and painting was checked in Egypt, by the same causes which have retarded it in Hindūstan. The length, breadth, form, and colour, of every limb, or feature, of each of their mythological personages,—their dress, air, and attitude, are imperiously prescribed to the Hindū artist, by the works which he considers as sacred. We recollect, in particular, that the *Matsya Purana* exhibits a very full code of laws for the guidance of the artist. The most copious treatise, however, on this subject that we have met with, is comprised in a work in the Imperial Library at Paris, entitled *Hayasiras*; but the manuscript did not specify from what Purana it was extracted. We subjoin an extract from it.

" Iswara," (Osiris, or Bacchus).

" Let the arms, shoulders, and thighs of Iswara be

brought lightning and thunderbolts during the war. Thus, in a similar contest between Siva and the Daityas, or children of Diti, who frequently rebelled against heaven, Brahma is supposed to have presented the god of destruction with fiery shafts. When, beside this, we learn that Siva is believed to have three eyes, "and know from Pausanias, not only that Trioph-

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brawny and muscular; his colour, that of the beams of the crescent which decorates his brow; his long hair must be knotted in many convolutions; his shoulders covered by a tyger's skin; his ten arms ornamented with bracelets of snakes; pendents hung from his ears; his face bright, and exquisitely beautiful; a sword, a club, a trident, and other weapons, are perceived in his hands. When he appears in the character of the vanquisher of Tripura, during the conflagration of the city, he has sixteen arms, of which one wields the unerring Pinaca. When the moon of Vaisakha ushers in his feast, he is depicted as dancing amidst a crowd of sportive nymphs and satyrs, to the sound of instruments touched by celestial musicians. In the character of Yogheswara, his aspect must be terrific." Here follow the different proportions of his limbs and features in those four forms.—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. pp. 313, 314, article on Moor's Hindū Pantheon.

thalmos was an epithet of Zeus, but that a statue of him had been found at as early a period as the taking of Troy, with a third eye in his forehead, as we see him represented by the Hindūs,* we must conclude that the identity of the two gods falls little short of being demonstrated."

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* Pausanias mentions having seen in the temple of Minerva at Corinth, a statue of Jupiter in wood, with two eyes, as men have them naturally, and a third in the middle of the forehead. "I was assured, (says he), that it is the Jupiter Patrius, that was in the palace of Priam, son of Laomedon, in an open place, and that it was at his altar that the unfortunate king fled for refuge on the taking of Troy. In the division of the booty, the statue fell to the share of Sthenelus, son of Capaneus, who afterwards placed it in this temple. It may reasonably be supposed that Jupiter is represented with three eyes, to signify that he reigns in heaven, secondly, in the infernal regions, for the God who governs these is also called Jupiter by Homer; and thirdly, over the waters. Whoever, therefore, made that statue, gave him, I believe, three eyes, in order to express that one and the same divinity reigns over the three parts; though some have divided them amongst three different divinities."—*Pausanias, Journey to Corinth*, lib. ii. c. 24.

"In the character of Destroyer also, we may look upon this Indian deity as corresponding with the Stygian Jove, or Pluto; especially since Cali or Time in the feminine gender, is a name of his consort, who will appear hereafter to be Proserpine."

"There is another attribute of Mahadeva, or Siva, by which he is *too visibly** distinguished in the temples and drawings in Bengal," and it may be added in every part of India. "To destroy according to the Vedantiis of India, the Susis of Persia, and many philosophers of European schools, is only to generate and reproduce in another form. Hence the god of destruction is supposed in India to preside over generation, as a symbol of which he rides on a white bull. Can we doubt that the loves and feats of Jupiter Genitor (not forgetting the white bull of Europa) and his extraordinary title of Lapis,† for which no satisfac-

* Meaning, we presume, the emblems of the genital parts.

† Various explanations are to be found for this name,

tory reason is commonly given, have a connexion with the Indian philosophy and mythology."

In the Jupiter Marinus, or Neptune, Sir

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or epithet, given by the Romans to Jupiter; but, as Sir William Jones observes, none that can be considered satisfactory. The Romans believed that an oath made in the name of Jupiter Lapis, was the most sacred of all oaths: Cicero calls it, *Jovem Lapidem Jurare*. It is supposed to have been derived from the stone presented to Saturn by his consort Ops, as a substitute for Jupiter. Saturn had promised to his elder brother Titan, to destroy all males that should be born to him, provided Titan should leave him in the undisturbed possession of his crown. On the birth of Jupiter, his mother Ops, Cybele, Rhea, or the elder Vesta (for it is presumed that they are only distinctive names for the same personage) deceived her husband by presenting a stone to him, and thus saved the boy, whom she concealed in a cavern on mount Ida. The mode of taking the Roman oath was said to be as follows:—The person to whom it was administered, holding a flint-stone in his hand, said, "If knowingly I deceive, so let Diespiter, saving the city and the capitol, cast me away from all that is good, as I cast away this stone." It would be worthy of enquiry whether the Hindūs have any similar mode of swearing.—Eusebius says that a sovereign, named Lapis, reigned in Crete.

William Jones finds a resemblance with Mahadeva in another of his characters. The identity of the Trisula and the Trident, the former a weapon of Siva in this character, the other the distinctive sceptre of Neptune, seems to establish the analogy; —"and the veneration paid all over India to the large Buccinum, especially when it can be found with the spiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings to our mind the music of Triton."* Mahadeva's consort Bhavani may be compared with the Venus Marina, their attributes being similar: and the Rembha of Indra's court, seems to correspond with the popular Venus, or goddess of beauty; this last sprung from the sea-foam, and Rembha was produced, according to the Indian fabulists, from the froth of the churned ocean.

"The way of considering the gods as individual substances, but as distinct persons in distinct characters, is common to the Euro-

* Jones.

pean and Indian systems; as well as the custom of giving the highest of them the greatest number of names; hence, not to repeat what has been said of Jupiter, came the triple capacity of Diana, and hence her petition in the poet Callimachus,* that she might be *polyonymous*, or many-titled."

"The Romans had many Jupiters, one of whom was only the firmament personified, as the poet Ennius clearly expresses it:

> Aspice hoc sublime candens, quam invocant
> Omnes Jovem.

This Jupiter, or Diespiter, answers to the Indian god of the visible heavens, Indra, or the King;† who has also the character

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* Named also Battiades, said to have been born at Cyrene, in Africa. All that has been preserved of his works, was published at Paris, in 1675, in one vol. in 4to. with notes by Mademoiselle Lefevre, afterwards the celebrated Madame Dacier; and republished at Leyden, in 1761, with additional notes, by different authors, in 2 vols. 8vo. A new edition, with a selection of notes, has just been edited from the Cambridge Press, in one vol. 8vo.

† Indra was chief of the inferior deities, but the

of the Roman *Genius*, or chief of the good spirits. His consort is named Sachi; his celestial city, is Amaravati; his palace * Vaijayanta; his garden, Nandana; his chief elephant, Airavat; his charioteer, Matali; and his weapon, Vajra, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and showers, and though the East is peculiarly under his care, yet his residence is Meru, or the North Pole, allegorically represented as a mountain of gold and gems. But with all his power he is considered as a subordinate deity, far inferior to the Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadeva, or Siva, who are but three forms of one and the same God-head; thus the principal divinity of the Greeks and Latins, whom they called Zeus and Jupiter, with irregular inflexions Dios and Jovis, was not merely Fulminator, the Thunderer, but like the destroying power of India, Magnus Divus,

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word, I am assured by those versed in the Sanscrit language, does not express *king*.

* For *palace* read *banner*.

Ultor, Genitor; like the preserving power of India, Conservator, Soter, Opitulus, Altor, Ruminus; and like the creative power, the Giver of Life, an attribute which I mention here on the authority of Cornutus,* a consummate master of mythological learning."

"The Olympian Jupiter fixed his court and held his councils, on a lofty and brilliant mountain; so the appropriated seat of Mahadeva, whom the *Saivas* consider as the chief of the deities, was mount Cailasa, every splinter of whose rocks was an inestimable gem. His terrestrial haunts are the snowy hills of Himalaya,† or that

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* Vide Cornuti sive Phurnuti de Natura Deorum Gentilium, &c. Basileæ, 1543.

† Himalaya, meaning *the Mansion of Snow*, is the name given by the Hindūs to that vast chain of mountains that bound India to the north; and which, separating *Bharat*, or what is now generally called Hindūstan, from the Great Thibet, extend westward to Cashmire. Major Rennel supposes them to be the same as those named by the Greeks, Imaus, &c. for in different parts of the chain the Greeks gave them distinct names (see p. 4,

branch of them which has the name of

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supra). Sir William Jones says, that the eastern part of those mountains is called by the Hindūs, Chandrasechara, or the Moon's Rock. "These hills," says he, "are held sacred by the Hindūs, who suppose them to be the terrestrial haunt of the god Iswara. The mountain properly Himalaya, being personified, is represented to have been a powerful monarch, whose wife, Mena, bore him a daughter, named Parvati, *mountain-born*, and Durga, or *difficult of access;* but the Hindūs believe her to have been married to Siva in a pre-existent state, when she bore the name of Sati."* The extreme height of Himalaya is calculated by observations at 21,000 feet above the level of the plains of Hindūstan.

The Ganges is supposed to enter India by a subterraneous passage through these mountains, near to Gangotri. The government of Calcutta ordered a survey to be made of that river from Hurdwar,† where it enters the plains of Hindūstan, to its source. It is only, we believe, about ten miles above Hurdwar, at a place named Caremsapur, where it properly takes the name of Gunga, or Ganges. Before that, the different streams which compose it, bear different names. The surveying party set out from Hurdwar the 10th of April, 1808, and on the 31st of May, reached Badri-Nath, on the banks of the Alcananda, where there is a temple highly venera-

* See argument of a Hymn to Pracriti, Works of Sir William Jones, vol. xiii. p. 242, 8vo. edit.

† In N. Lat. 29°, 57', and E. Long. from Greenwich, 78°, 8', 30".

Chandrasechara, or the mountain of the Moon."*

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ted by the Hindūs. Though then but little more than forty miles from Gangotri, it was, for reasons to be found in the narrative of the journey, resolved to return,† a circumstance much to be regretted. Major Rennell states Gangotri to be three hundred miles from Hurdwar.

This celebrated place is said to derive its name from Hara, and pilgrims resort thither annually, not only from every part of India to the east of the Indus; but also from Cabul, Candahar, Paishawar, and other countries to the west of that river, and which, as already observed, once formed part of the Hindū empire. The meeting begins early in March. Besides the religious festival, a great fair is held. The ablutions are performed in the sacred Ganges, at a place named Hara-ca-Pairi, or the foot of Hara. The grand day of bathing answers to our 11th of April. The number of persons who assemble annually, has been computed at about a million of souls. Devotees resort at certain seasons to numerous other celebrated places, as Jaggernaut in Orixa, Trippety, Conjeveram, Chelumboum, Seringham in the Carnatic: and, as anciently in Greece, serious contests for precedency, frequently occur at those meetings.

* Jones.

† See Narrative of a Journey, &c. Asiat. Res. vol. xi.

Cuvera, likewise named Vetesa and Paulastaya, the Indian Plutus, is a magnificent deity, who resides in the palace of Aloca, and in his travels is borne through the sky in a splendid car named Pushpaca. He is the chief of the Yakshas and Rakshas, and is attended by good and evil genii.

Varouna, the god, or genius of water, is but an inferior deity: he is sometimes represented riding on a crocodile.

The ancients mention the god of love in the double character of divine and earthly. As such he has different names, and different parentage ascribed to him. In his former character, of pure and virtuous love, he is supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Venus; but the goddess being told by Themis, the patroness of oracles, that her son Eros would not grow to maturity till she had another son, she accordingly had one by Mars, whom she named Anteros. She is hence called by Ovid, the mother of two loves. This Cupid is sometimes represented with a torch in his hand, sometimes as armed with a bow and a quiver of

arrows, to testify his power of inflaming the mind, or wounding the heart; he is crowned with roses as emblems of the delightful but transitory pleasures of the passion he conveys;* sometimes he is represented with a bandage over his eyes, to intimate that those under his influence are blind to the faults and failings of the object beloved by them: at others, he appears with a rose in one hand and a dolphin in the other, the last perhaps as relative to the birth of his mother, or to shew that his empire even extends over the ocean. He is depicted in the air, on the earth, on the waters; he is seen dancing, playing, and climbing on trees; riding on panthers and lions, and guiding them at his will. The Indian god of love, is generally named Cama, or Camadeva. In the argument

* Perhaps also the common proverb of, there are no roses without thorns, or in French, *il n y a point de roses sans épines*, to express that those pleasures are frequently accompanied with, or productive of misery, may have been taken from this allegorical ornament.

of a beautiful hymn to this deity, Sir William Jones informs us:* "The Hindū god, to whom the following poem is addressed, appears evidently the same with the Grecian Eros, and the Roman Cupido; but the Indian description of his person and arms, his family, attendants, and attributes, has new and peculiar beauties."

According to the Hindū mythology, he is the son of Maya, or the general *attracting* power, and married to Retty, or *Affection;* his bosom friend is Vassant, or *Spring;* he is represented as a beautiful youth, sometimes conversing with his mother and consort in the midst of gardens and in temples; sometimes riding by moonlight on a parrot, or lory, and attended by nymphs, the foremost of whom bears his standard, which represents a fish on a red ground. His favorite place of resort is a large tract of country round Agra, and principally the plains of Matra, where Krishen also and

* See Works of Sir William Jones, 8vo. edit. vol. xiii. p. 286.

the nine Gopia, who are clearly the Apollo and Muses of the Greeks, usually spend the night with music and dance. His bow of sugar-cane, or flowers, with a string of bees, and his *five* arrows, each pointed with an Indian blossom of a heating quality, are allegories equally new and beautiful. He has at least twenty-three names, most of which are introduced in the hymn.

When Tanjore was taken by the English, a curious picture was found, representing Camadeva riding on an elephant, whose body was composed of the figures of young women, entwined in so whimsical, but ingenious a manner, as to exhibit the shape of that enormous animal. Several pieces of sculpture of the same figure, in bas-relief, have been met with in other parts of Hindūstan. Sir William Jones mentions a picture of the same kind; in which the elephant is composed of nine damsels, and the rider is Krishen.

The Erôs of the Greeks is found riding on, and guiding, a lion. The Hindūs place Camadeva on an elephant, the

strongest of the brute creation, and, perhaps, the most difficult to be tamed, but afterwards the most docile.

The ancients mention four Apollos: one, the son of Vulcan; another, the son of Corybas, and born in Crete; a third, the son of Jupiter and Latona; and another, the pastoral Apollo, born in Arcadia, and named by the Greeks Nomius.* This last corresponds with the Krishen of the Hindūs, who is supposed by one of their sects, to have been the god Vishnu, in one of his incarnations, and to have come amongst mankind as the son of *Divaci Vasudeva*:— "but his birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant Cansa, to whom it had been predicted, that a child born at that time, and in that family, would destroy him; he was, therefore, confided to an honest herdsman of Mathura, surnamed Ananda, or *the Happy*, and his amiable wife, Yasoda;

* Nomius is also one of the names of the rural deity Aristæus, and an epithet given to Pan.

who, like another Pales,* was constantly occupied in her pastures and her dairy. In the family were numerous young gopas, or cow-herds, and beautiful gopis, or milk-maids, who were his playfellows during his infancy. When a youth, he selected out of these, *nine* damsels as his favourites, with whom he spent his gay hours in dancing, sporting, and playing on his *mourly*, or flute. He is described as a youth of perfect beauty; and many princesses, as well as the damsels of Nanda's farm, were passionately in love with him. He is likewise named Mohun, or *the Beloved*, Mäënoher, or *the Heart-catcher*; and he continues to this hour to be the darling divinity of Hindū women. When a boy, he slew the terrible serpent Caliya, with many giants and monsters; at a more advanced age, he killed his cruel enemy Cansa; and, having taken under his protection king

* The tutelar divinity of the shepherds, and protectress of their flocks.

Judishter, and the other Pandoos, who had been oppressed by the Kooroos and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great epic poem, entitled the Mahabarat; at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in Vaicontha, having left the instruction comprised in the Geeta to his disconsolate friend Arjoon, whose grandson became sovereign of India."*

It cannot be denied, that much affinity is to be found between the Krishen of Mathura, and Nomius, the pastoral Apollo, a god beautiful, amorous, and warlike, who fed the flocks of Admetus, and slew the serpent Python.

"In the mystical and elevated character of Pan, as a personification of the universe, (according to the notion of Lord Bacon,) there arises a sort of similitude between him and Krishen,† considered as Narayan. The

* Jones.

† For Krishen, we presume, should be read Mahadeva.

Grecian god plays divinely on his reed, to express, we are told, ethereal harmony. He has his attendant nymphs of the pastures and the dairy. His face is as radiant as the sky, and his head illumined with the horns of a crescent; whilst his lower extremities are deformed and shaggy, as a symbol of the vegetables which the earth produces, and of the beasts who roam over its surface. Now we may compare this portrait partly with the general character of Krishen, the shepherd god, and partly with the description in the Bhagavat, "of *the Divine Spirit* exhibited *in the form of this universal world*."*

Vayu is the god of the winds, and rides on an Antelope, with a sabre in his right hand. One of his names, also, is Pavaha.

Agny, the god of fire, also named Pavaca, or the purifier, may be compared with the Vulcan of Egypt, where he was a deity of high rank; whereas the Vulcan of Greece appears to have been merely a

* Jones.

forger of arms. Suaha, the wife of Pavaca, seems to answer to the younger Vesta, "or Vestia, as the Eolians pronounced the Greek word for a hearth."* But the consort of this Indian Vulcan, is distinct from Bhavany, the Venus and consort of Siva. The Greeks and Romans, whose system is less regular than that of the Indians, married Venus to their divine artist, whom they named also Hephaistos; and who answers more properly to the Indian Visvacarma, the armourer of the gods, and inventor of the Agny-Astra, or *weapons of fire*. Visvacarma is said to have made all the arms for the war maintained in the Sutty-Youg, by the Dewatas against the Assours, or the war between the good and evil spirits.

Much affinity is to be discovered between the Hindu Ayodhya, and the European Bacchus, not as the god presiding over the vintage, but in his character of hero and conqueror, as Dionysus, the son of Semele

* Jones.

and Jupiter; whom the Greeks also named Bromios and Bugenes, or *the horned*, with reference to his father Jupiter *Ammon*,* or to the fable that he himself was born with horns. He was likewise called Triambos, or Dithyrambos, the triumphant; which may refer to his triumphant entry into Thebes, the birth-place of his mother, and where, after all his various exploits, he fixed his residence, employing himself in promoting the happiness of his people, in reforming abuses, and making salutary laws, whence he obtained the title of Thesmo-

* According to fabulous history, Bacchus on his return from Asia, passing with his army through the deserts of Lybia, was in danger of perishing for want of water, when his father Jupiter appearing in the shape of a ram, conducted him to a fountain. In testimony of gratitude, he there built a temple to Jupiter, which, alluding to the desert, he named Ammon. Jupiter was there worshipped under the figure of a ram; and in some other places he was to be seen in a human shape with horns. Bacchus, also, has been represented with horns: Ariadne says, in Ovid,

"*Ceperunt matrem formosi tauri; me tua.*"

phorus. The name of Lyæus, or Liber, may, it is conceived, be applicable to the god of wine, one of the effects of which is to remove restraint. His head in this character is bound with ivy.* Bacchus, the hero, is represented in point of beauty even to have rivalled Apollo, and like him to have enjoyed eternal youth. "Both Greeks and Romans had writings and traditionary accounts of his giving laws to men, and of his conquests in India, with an army of satyrs. It were superfluous in a mere essay, to go any length in the parallel between this European god and Ayodhya, whom the Hindūs believe to have been an appearance on earth of the preserving power; to have been a conqueror of the highest renown, and the deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his consort Sita, from the giant Ravan, king of Lanca, or Ceylon; and to have commanded in

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* Sir William Jones, in his dissertation, mentions *Eleutherios*, among the titles of Bacchus; but this was one of the titles of Jupiter.

chief a numerous and intrepid race of those large *monkeys*, which our naturalists, or some of them, have denominated Indian satyrs. His general, the prince of satyrs, was named Hanumat, or *with high cheek-bones*. Might not this army of satyrs have been merely a race of mountaineers?— However that may be, the large breed of Indian apes is, at this moment, held in high veneration by the Hindūs, and fed with devotion by the Brahmins; who seem, in two or three places on the banks of the Ganges, to have a regular endowment for the support of them. They live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle, (I speak as an eye-witness) and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity."* We, however, state this supposed affinity between the two heroes merely as hypothetical, an observation which is applicable to all subjects whence we draw con-

* Jones.

clusions merely from what appears to us to be analogous.

The wars of Rama with Ravana, form the subject of a beautiful Sanscrit poem, called the Ramayan, written many ages since. "The war of Lanca (Ceylon) is dramatically represented at the festival of Rama, on the ninth day of the new moon of Chaitra; and the drama concludes, says Holwell, who had often seen it, with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife Sita gave proof of her connubial fidelity. *The dialogue,* he adds, *is taken from one of the eighteen holy books,* meaning, I suppose, the Puranas; but the Hindus have a great number of regular dramas, at least two thousand years old, and among them are several very fine ones on the story of Rama. The first poet of the Hindus with whom we are acquainted, was the great Valmic, and his Ramayan is an epick poem, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate

work of Nonnus,* entitled Dionysiaca; half of which, or twenty-four books, I perused with great eagerness when I was very young, and should have travelled to the conclusion of it, if other pursuits had not engaged me. I shall never have leisure to compare the Dionysiacks with the Ramayan, but am confident, that an accurate comparison of the two poems would prove Dionysos and Rama to have been the same person. Meros is said by the Greeks to have been a mountain of India, on which their Dionysos was born; and Meru, though it generally means the north pole, in the Indian geography, is also a mountain, near the city of Naishada, or Nysa, called by the Grecian geogra-

* Nonnus Panopolites, a Christian Greek poet, born at Panopolis, in Egypt. The Dionysiaca is in heroic verse, in forty-eight books. Besides this, he wrote a paraphrase on the gospel of Saint John: the latter is much admired, both for style and composition; the other has been greatly criticised, and is now scarcely ever read.

phers, Dionysopolis, and universally celebrated in the Sanscrit poems, though the birth-place of Rama is supposed to have been Ayodhya, or Audh."*

The sun, an object of adoration among all heathen nations, named Phœbus and Apollo, by the Greeks, is by the Hindūs called Surya, "whence the sect who pay him particular adoration, are called Souras. Their painters describe his car as drawn by seven green horses;"†—but it is said, that in the temple of Visweswara, at Benares, there is an ancient piece of sculpture, well executed in stone, representing this god sitting in a car drawn by a horse with *twelve heads*.‡ His charioteer, by whom he is preceded, is Arun, or *the dawn*; and among his many titles, are twelve, which denote his distinct powers in each of the twelve months; those powers are called

* Jones. † Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 262.
‡ Forster.

Adityas,* or sons of Aditi, by Casyapa, the Indian Uranus.

"Surya is supposed to have descended frequently from his car, in a human shape, and to have left a race on earth, equally renowned in Indian stories with the Heliades of Greece. It is very singular, that his two sons, called Aswinau, or *Aswinicumaraw*, in the dual, should be considered as twin brothers, and painted like Castor and Pollux; but they have each the character of Esculapius among the gods,"† which seems to relate to Apollo, in his healing quality. "They are believed to have been born of a nymph, who, in the form of a mare, was impregnated with sun-beams. I suspect the whole fable of Casyapa and his progeny, to be astronomical, and cannot but imagine that the Greek name Cassiopeia, has a relation to it."‡

* Each of the Adityas has a particular name.

† Jones. ‡ Idem.

The sun is often styled king of the stars and planets. The name of his goddess is Sangya, who is supposed to be the mother of the river Jumna.

The moon, as Chandara, or Chandrya, different from Diana, Artemis, Cynthia, queen of the woods and patroness of hunting, is a male deity. He is represented sitting in a car, drawn by Antelopes, and holding a rabbit in the right hand. "I have not yet found a parallel in India for the goddess of the chace, who seems to have been the daughter of an European fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of Bucolic and Georgick poets: yet since the moon is a form of Iswara, the god of nature, according to the verse of the Hindū poet, Calidasa, and since Isani has been shewn to be his consort, we may consider her, in one of her characters, as Luna."*

The Palmyrans, Mesopotamians, and other people, worshipped this planet, both

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* Jones.

in a male and female character. It is the deity which Strabo names μην. The effigy of Lunus, or the moon as a male, is to be seen on several ancient medals. There is one in the Royal Library at Paris. On this medal he appears as a young man, with a Phrygian cap on his head, a crescent on his shoulder, behind, and a warlike instrument in his right hand.*

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* This subject may perhaps be further illustrated, by the following extracts of letters addressed to the Author:—the first from the Chevalier Millin, and the other from the Chevalier Visconti:

"Plusieurs peuples de l'Asie ont adoré la Lune sous les traits d'un homme. Le Dieu *Men* (mois) en Latin *Lunus*, présidoit aux mois parcequ'ils sont réglés d'après le cours de la lune.

"Ce Dieu est figuré avec une courte tunique, le bonnet Phrygien sur la tête, et un croissant derrière l'épaule; il est seul dans son temple, sur une médaille de Galatie qui a été frappée sous Trajan; ou avec Diane comme sur une médaille de Taba dans la Carie. Ces médailles sont dans le cabinet du Roi."—*Millin.*

"Les medailles qui représentent le Dieu Lunus, ont été frappées dans plusieurs villes de l'Asie Mineure, à Carrhes de la Mesopotamie, et ailleurs. On peut voir

But there can, we think, be no doubt of the identity of Cali, the wife of Siva, in

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dans les *Numismata Selecta* de Seguin, ch. iii. No. xiv. le beau médaillon de Valerien fabriqué à Nysa de la Carie, et la médaille de Carrhes dans *Recueil* de Pellerin, tom. ii. pl. 85, No. 26.

"Un bas-relief singulier, avec une inscription en deux langues, l'une Grecque, l'autre Syriaque Palmyrénienne, qu'on voit à Rome dans le Musée du Capitole, représente les dieux du Soleil et de la Lune en forme de deux jeunes princes se donnant la main. On en peut voir les figures dans les *Miscellanea* de Spon tout au commencement, mais elles y sont très-mal gravées. Au contraire elles le sont parfaitement dans le iv^me volume du *Museum Capitolinum*, par Bottari e Foggini, à la planche xviii. Le nom que cette inscription donne au Dieu de la Lune est celui de *Malachbelus*, Roi-seigneur. On croit que c'est le même que le Moloch de l'Ecriture Sainte (voyez aussi Gruter, p. 86. No. 8.).

"D'autres inscriptions Palmyreniennes (Muratori Thesaur. Inscript. p. cxvii. No. 2.) donnent à ce même Dieu le nom d'*Iaribolus* (Iarahhbahal) Seigneur de la Lune.

"Plusieurs orientalistes pensent que le mot Hébreu *Iareahh*, lune, étant du genre masculin, a été l'origine du Dieu Lunus mâle, comme l'autre nom de la même planete, *Lebhana*, étant feminin, a fait considérer la Lune comme une divinité femelle.

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his character of the Stygian Jove, and the Tauric Diana, Hecate, " who is often confounded with Proserpine. To this black goddess, with a collar of golden skulls, as we see her exhibited in all her principal temples, human sacrifices were anciently offered, as the Vedas enjoined; but they have long been prohibited, as well as the sacrifices of bulls and horses. Kids are still

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" Les Grecs ont donné au Dieu Lunus le nom de ΜΗΝ, *Mensis*, qu'on retrouve sur plusieurs médailles. Voyez aussi Strabon, lib. xii. p. 557.

" Saumaise, dans ses notes sur des passages de Spartien, et après lui M. l'Abbé le Blond, (Acad. des B. L. tom. xlii.) ont voulu distinguer le Dieu *Mensis* du Dieu *Lunus*, et Eckhel lui-même a adopté leur opinion. Ils se sont trompés. Les médailles de Carrhes, où, suivant Spartien, le culte du Dieu Lunus étoit établi, nous présentent la même figure avec les mêmes symboles, qui sur les médailles d'autres villes porte le nom de ΜΗΝ. En effet la lune s'appèle ΜΗΝ aussi bien que ΣΕΛΗΝΗ.

" Sur les médailles d'Ancyra de Phrygie, et sur celles de Nysa de Carie, le même Dieu prend quelquefois le nom de ΚΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΗΣ qu'on dérive de *Camar*, mot Arabe qui signifie la Lune."—*Visconti.*

See also Ælius Spartianus, Vitæ Cæsarum, Caracalla, c. vi. and Tertull. Apologeticum, c. xv.

offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to Buddha, the Brahmins inculcate a belief, that the poor victims rise in the heaven of Indra, where they become the musicians of his band."

"Instead of the obsolete, and now illegal sacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horse, called Neramedha, Gomedha, and Aswamedha, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the less bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the festivals of Cali and Lacshmi are solemnized, nearly at the same time. Now, if it be asked, how the goddess of death came to be united with the mild patroness of abundance, I must propose another question.—How came Proserpine to be represented in the European system as the daughter of Ceres? Perhaps both questions may be answered by the proposition of natural philosophers, that *the apparent destruction of a substance, is the production of it in a different form.* The wild music of Cali's priests, at one of her festivals, brought

instantly to my recollection the Scythian measures of Diana's adorers in the splendid opera of Iphigenia in Tauris."*

Nared, a distinguished son of Brahma, may be compared with Hermes, or Mercury. The actions of Nared are the subject of a Purana.—"He was a wise legislator, great in arts and in arms, an eloquent messenger of the gods, either to one another, or to favoured mortals, and a musician of exquisite skill. His invention of the Vina, or Indian lute, is thus described in the poem entitled Magha: *Nared sat watching from time to time his large Vina, which, by the impulse of the breeze, yielded notes that pierced successively the regions of his ear, and proceeded by musical intervals.* The law tract, supposed to have been revealed by Nared, is at this hour cited by the Pandits."†

The consort of Mahadeva, or Siva, is more eminently marked by distinctions, than the consorts of Brahma and Vishnu,

* Jones. † Ibid.

or any other goddess: her leading names and characters are Bhavani, Parvati, Cali, and Durga. As Bhavani, she has been already mentioned by us,* but in addition to what has been said, she may be compared to the Juno Cinxia,† or Lucina,‡ of the Romans; the Venus invoked by Lucretius at the opening of his poem on nature, "in short, the Venus presiding over generation, and who on that account sometimes exhibited the distinctive marks of the two sexes, as in her bearded statue at Rome; also in some of those compound images, named Hermæ, and in the figures which had the form of a conical marble, *for the reason of which figure*, says Tacitus, *we are left in the dark*: but the reason appears too plainly in the temples and paintings of Hindūstan,

* See p. 103, supra.

† One of the names of Juno, who, in that character, was supposed at marriages to unloose the virgin zone.

‡ A name which Juno bore in common with Diana, both being protectresses of women in labour.

where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people, that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals."*

Parvati, or the mountain-born goddess, has many properties of the Olympian Juno: "her majestic deportment, high spirit, and general attributes, are the same; and we find her, both on mount Cailasa and at the banquets of the deities, uniformly the companion of her husband. One circumstance in the parallel is extremely singular: she is usually attended by her son Carticeya, who rides on a peacock; and in some drawings, her own robe seems to be spangled with eyes; to which must be added that, in some of her temples, a peacock, without a rider, stands near her image. Though Carticeya, with his six faces and numerous eyes, bears some resemblance to Argus,

* Jones.

whom Juno employed as her principal warder, yet, as he is a deity of the second class, and a commander of celestial armies, he seems clearly to be the Orus of Egypt,* and the Mars of Italy; his name, Scanda, by which he is celebrated in one of the Puranas, has a connexion, I am persuaded, with the old Secander of Persia, whom the poets ridiculously confound with the Macedonian."†

The consort of Siva, or Mahadeva, under

* But the Orus of Egypt, son of Osiris and Isis, appears to bear resemblance chiefly to the Apollo of the Greeks. They have by some learned mythologists been judged to be the same. From the great respect we bear to the authority of Sir William Jones, it is to be wished that he had explained his reasons for supposing Carticeya to be "the Orus of Egypt, and the Mars of Italy." Many suppose the Orus of Egypt to be the same as the Eros of the Greeks, or Cupid of the Romans. Other learned mythologists consider him as the symbol of light, or of the sun. The Greeks seem to have thought him to respond to their Apollo, hence Orus-Apollo. Like this god, he was skilled in the healing art.

† Jones.

his name of Iswara, is named Isani; and the two seem to correspond under these titles with the Osiris and Isis of the Egyptians. Isani is represented as the patroness of the watery element; and at her festival, named *Durgotsuva*, in which she is also called by her name of Bhavany, her image, after receiving all due honours, is restored to the waters.

"The attributes of Durga, or *difficult of access*, are also conspicuous in the festival which is called by her name; and in this character she resembles Minerva,—not the peaceful inventress of the fine and useful arts, but Pallas, armed with a helmet and spear: both represent heroic virtue, or valour united with wisdom; both slew demons and giants with their own hands, and both protected the wise and virtuous, who paid them due adoration. As Pallas, they say, takes her name from vibrating a lance, and usually appears in complete armour, thus Curis, the old Latin word for a spear, was one of Juno's titles; and so, if Giral-

dus be correct, was Hoplosmia, which at Elis, it seems, meant a female dressed in panoply, or complete accoutrements."*

The unarmed Minerva corresponds as patroness of science and genius, of harmony and eloquence, with Sareswati, the wife of Vishnu, and daughter of Brahma. She is supposed to have invented the Devanagari letters, and the language in which the divine laws were conveyed to mankind. The Minerva of Italy invented the flute: Sareswati presides over melody, and is usually represented with a musical instrument in her hand. The protectress of Athens was also on the same account named Musica.

In the argument to a poem addressed to Sareswati, as goddess of harmony, Sir William Jones informs us, that every allusion or epithet in it, is taken from approved treatises. "The seven notes, (says he), an artful combination of which constitutes music, and variously affects the passions, are

* Jones.

feigned to be her earliest production: and the greatest part of the hymn exhibits a correct delineation of the Ragmala, or *necklace* of musical modes, which may be considered as the most pleasing invention of the ancient Hindūs, and the most beautiful union of painting with poetical mythology and the genuine theory of music."

"The Hindū arrangement of the musical modes is elegantly formed on the variations of the Indian year, and the association of ideas; a powerful auxiliary to the ordinary effect of modulation. The modes, in this system, are deified; and as there are six seasons in India, namely, two Springs, Summer, Autumn, and two Winters, an original Rag, or god of the mode, is conceived to preside over each particular season; each principal mode is attended by five Ragnys, or nymphs of harmony; each has eight sons, or genii of the same divine art; and each Rag, with his family, is appropriated to a distinct season, in which alone his melody can be sung or played at prescribed hours of the day or night: the

mode of Deipec, or *Cupid the inflamer*, is supposed to be lost; and a tradition is current in Hindūstan, that a musician, who attempted to restore it, was consumed by fire from heaven. The natural distribution of modes would have been seven, thirty-three, and forty-four, according to the number of the minor and major secondary tones; but this order was varied for the sake of the charming fiction above-mentioned."

"The last couplet of the poem, addressed to Sareswati, alludes to the celebrated place of pilgrimage at the confluence of the Ganga and Yamna, which the Sareswaty, another sacred river, is supposed to join under ground."*

"Lacshmi is the Hindū goddess of harvests and abundance. She is also named Pedma, and Camala from the sacred Lotos or Nymphæa;—" but her most remarkable

* See Translation of a Sanscrit poem to Sareswati; in Sir William Jones's Works, 8vo. edit. vol. xiii. p. 311.

name is Sri, or in the first case Sris, which has a resemblance to the Latin, and means fortune or prosperity.—It may be contended, that, although Lacshmi may be figuratively called the Ceres of Hindūstan, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who subsisted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a deity to preside over their labours, without having the least intercourse with each other; but no reason appears why two nations should concur in supposing that deity to be a female. One, at least, of them would be more likely to imagine that the earth was a goddess, and that the god of abundance rendered her fertile. Besides, in very ancient temples near Gaya, we see images of Lacshmi, with full breasts, and a cord twisted under her arm like a horn of plenty, which very much resemble the old Grecian and Roman figures of Ceres."*

Ceres was the daughter of Saturn and Ops, or Vesta; and Lacshmi is the daugh-

* Jones.

ter, not indeed of Menu himself, but of Bhrigu, by whom the first code of sacred laws was promulgated.* She seems also to answer to some of the attributes of the Egyptian Isis, to whom corn, and, indeed, all the other productions of the earth were attributed. There can, however, be little doubt, we think, that Ceres and Isis were the same personages. The former was properly the goddess of agriculture, but the latter had numerous names and attributes, and hence the appellation given to her of *Myrionyma*.

The Lingam of the Hindūs seems to correspond in many respects with the Lampsacan god Phallus, or the Roman deity Priapus. This object of worship in India sometimes represents both the male and female parts of generation, but generally only the former. A lamp is kept constantly burning before the image; but when the Brahmins perform their religious ceremonies, and make their offerings, which ge-

* See Asiatic Res. 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 240.

nerally consist of flowers, it is said that *seven* lamps are lighted; which De la Croze, speaking from the information of the protestant missionaries, says, *exactly resemble the candelabras of the Jews, that are to be seen on the triumphal arch of Titus.*

Very singular and striking marks of affinity appear in the religious rites performed to Phallus, by the Egyptians and Greeks, and those by the Hindūs to Lingam; upon which occasions the emblematic representations of that deity, and the ceremonies used, seem exactly to resemble one another. The figure of Phallus was consecrated to Osiris, Dionysus, and Bacchus, who probably were the same: at the festivals of Osiris, it was carried, in Egypt, by women; and the figure of Lingam is now borne by women in Hindūstan.

Various accounts are given of the origin of this personage; but in Greece he appears to have been generally considered as the son of Bacchus and Venus, and to have been born in Lampsacus, in Asia Minor, where the goddess met Bacchus on his re-

turn from his expedition into India. From the place of his birth, on the borders of the Hellespont, he is sometimes named Hellespontiacus. His naked figure is indecent, but as god of vineyards and gardens, he is found there with a head resembling that of a satyr placed on columns or termini.

We are told that Isis, having recovered all the dispersed members of her husband Osiris, excepting those of manhood, she consecrated a semblance of them, and ordained that it should be worshipped.

As the Hindūs depend on their children for performing those ceremonies to their manes, which, they believe, tend to mitigate punishment in a future state, they consider the being deprived of progeny as a severe misfortune, and the sign of having offended the deity. By no people are duties towards the dead ever more strictly observed, or the effects of performing or neglecting them, more religiously believed, than by the Hindūs. The care of them is the obligation of the eldest male child, or in failure of male children, of the nearest male

relation. As with the Greeks, it is the elder surviving relative, who lights the funeral pile.*

Married women wear a small gold Lingam tied round the neck or arm; and worship is paid to Lingam to obtain fecundity.

The priests who devote themselves to the service of this divinity, swear to observe

* The author, happening to be at Rajahmundry, the capital of the province of that name, was visited by a Hindū; who was returning from a pilgrimage to Benares, whither he had gone to perform certain religious ceremonies for the benefit of the soul of his deceased father. He was a man of rank and fortune, and had come from Surat on the gulf of Cambay, across the peninsula, striking to the north. From a journal which he communicated, it appeared that he had visited Oudeapour, Oujein, and other places that are respected by the Hindūs. He had been to offer his devotions also at the temple of Jaggernaut, on the coast of Orixa; and, when the author saw him, was on his way to visit that of Seringham near Trichinopoly, whence he proposed to return to Surat. It would be difficult to ascertain the number of miles he had travelled, as during his journey, several of the places he visited, led him into great deviations from the common route.

inviolable chastity. They do not, like the priests of Atys, deprive themselves of the means of breaking their vows; but were it discovered that they had in any way departed from them, the punishment is death. Husbands, whose wives are barren, send them to worship Lingam at the temples; and it is supposed that the ceremonies on this occasion, if performed with proper zeal, are generally productive of the desired effect.

In the accounts of the festivals of Rama, and others of their demigods or heroes, a strong resemblance may be observed with those of Hercules and Theseus.*

The Hindūs, like the Greeks and Romans, have their household gods as well as their genii and aerial spirits. The Greeks ascribed the diseases to which men, and even cattle, are exposed, to some angry god, or

* See on the subject of the Hindū, Greek, and Italian divinities, the notes of M. Langlès to the translation of the first two volumes of the Asiatic Researches into French, vol. i. p. 273.

evil genius. The Hindūs do the same. Pythagoras pretended that the evil genii not only caused diseases, but frightful dreams.*

In India, as formerly in Greece, every wood and mountain, every fountain and stream, is sacred to some divinity. "Nullus enim locus sine genio est, qui per anguem plerumque ostenditur."† The great rivers claimed beings of superior order; the rivulets and fountains had those of inferior rank. Three goddesses of the waters, highly venerated, and from whom three celebrated rivers take their names, are—Ganga, "who sprang, like armed Pallas, from the head of the Indian Jove; Yamuna, daughter of

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* Diogenes Laertius in Pythag. tom. ii. p. 900. (edit. Longolii).

† Servius in Æneid.

"The Hindū mythology has animated all nature. It has peopled the heavens, the air, the earth, and waters, with innumerable tribes of imaginary beings, arrayed in tints borrowed from the fervid imaginations of tropical climes."—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. p. 315.

Surya, or the sun, and Sareswati. All three met at Prayaga, thence called Triveni, or *the three platted locks;* but Sareswati, according to the popular belief, sinks under ground, and rises again at Triveni near Hugli, where she rejoins her beloved Ganga."* The Brahmaputra, as the name expresses, is the son of Brahma; and that noble river, the Krishna, is sacred to Krishen, the incarnate Vishnu. It would be almost endless to enumerate the various sacred streams.

"We have mentioned the Lotos as being highly venerated by the Hindūs. It is particularly sacred to Lacshmi, the wife of Vishnu, in her attributes of Sris, goddess of plenty, who presides over the harvests. She is sometimes represented holding a Lotos in her hand; at others sitting on one; and by poets she is frequently denominated Padma-Devi,† *the goddess of the Lotos,* Padma being one of the Sanscrit

* Jones.

† Mr. Wilford however ascribes that epithet to Cali.

names of that plant. At others they call her, *she who dwells in the Lotos,* and also *she who sprung from the Lotos.*" But the Lotos here spoken of must not be confounded with the Rhamnus Lotos of Lybia, on the coast of what was anciently called the Syrtis Minor, and which gave name to the people, called, by the Greeks, Lotophagæ. The Rhamnus Lotos is a shrub about four or five feet high, producing numerous berries; which, being variously prepared, furnished an article of excellent food to the inhabitants of the country. Homer ascribes to it the quality of producing forgetfulness; but this must be considered as a poetical figure, to express the happiness of a people, furnished with a delicious aliment, without the necessity of labour, and which inclined those who visited the country to remain there, and forget their own.* Xenophon mentions it in his harangues to the *Ten thousand*;† and Pliny

* See Odyssey, lib. ix. v. 94 & seq.

† Anab. lib. iii.—Philostratus, &c.

says, it furnished subsistence to the Roman armies when traversing that part of Africa.*

A late celebrated traveller,† speaking of this plant, says: "These (its berries), called Tomberongs, are small farinaceous berries, of a yellow colour and delicious taste, which I know to be the fruit of the Rhamnus Lotos of Linnæus. The negroes shewed us two large baskets full, which they had collected in the course of the day. These berries are much esteemed by the natives; who convert them into a sort of bread, by exposing them for some days to the sun, and afterwards pounding them gently in a wooden mortar, until the farinaceous part of the berry is separated from the stone. This meal is then mixed with a little water, and formed into cakes; which, when dried in the sun, resemble in colour and flavour the sweetest gingerbread. The stones are afterwards put into a vessel of water, and

* Pliny, lib. v. c. 4.—and lib. xiii. c. 17 and 18.

† See Travels in the Interior of Africa, by Mungo Park, 8vo. edit. p. 147 & seq.

shaken about, so as to separate the meal which may still adhere to them: this communicates a sweet and agreeable taste to the water; and with the addition of a little pounded millet, forms a pleasant gruel called *fondi*, which is the common breakfast in many parts of Ludamar, during the months of February and March. This fruit is collected by spreading a cloth upon the ground, and beating the branches with a stick."*

The Lotos, venerated by the Hindūs, and formerly by the Egyptians, is an aquatic plant. Sir William Jones, in the argument to two Hymns to Pracriti, says: "It may here be observed, that Nymphæa, not Lotos, is the generic name in Europe

* See also Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 177 and 178.—Athenæus, Deipnoso. lib. xiv. c. 18, who quotes the 12th Book of Polybius, which is lost.—Theophrastus's Hist. Plant. lib. iv. c. 4.—Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 262 et seq.—Article by M. des Fontaines, Mémoires de l'Academie des Sciences, 1788, p. 443.—*Rennell's Geographical System of Herodotus, examined and explained*, p. 625 & seq.

of the flower consecrated to Isis: the Persians know by the name of Nilufer, that species of it which botanists ridiculously call Nelumbo, which is remarkable for its curious pericarpium, where each of the seeds contains in miniature the leaves of a perfect vegetable. The Lotos of Linnæus is a papilionaceous plant, but he gives the same name to another species of Nymphæa, and the word Lotos is so constantly applied among us to the Nilufer, that any other would be hardly intelligible."*

"The true Lotos of Egypt is the Nymphæa Nilufer, and which in Sanscrit has all the following names: Padma, Nalina, Aravinda, Maholpala, Camala, Cuseshaya, Sahasrapatra, Sarasa, Panceruha, Tamarasa, Sarasiruha, Rajiva, Visaprasuna, Pushcara, Ambharuka, and Satapra. The new blown flowers of the rose-coloured Padma, have a most agreeable fragrance; the white and yellow have less odour; the blue I

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* Jones, vol. xiii. p. 246.

am told is a native of Cashmir and Persia."*

In Egypt it grew in the canals that conducted the water of the Nile to the neighbouring plains, and in recesses on the borders of the river itself: its tubular roots, black without, white within, sprang from the muddy soil below; the flower and leaves displayed themselves above the surface of the water.

In India it has also its existence in the water. "The seeds are very numerous, minute and round. The flowers of the blue, beautifully azure; but when full blown, more diluted, less fragrant than the red, or rose-coloured, but still with a delicate scent. The leaves are radical, subtargeted, hearted, deeply scollop-toothed. On one side dark purple, reticulated; on the other, dull green, smooth. Petals very smooth, long and tubular." Sir William Jones observes, that there is a variety

* Jones, vol. v. p. 128.

of this species, "with leaves purplish on both sides; flowers dark crimson, calycine petals richly coloured internally, and anthers flat; furrowed, adhering to the top of the filaments: the petals are more than fifteen, less pointed and broader than the blue, with little odour."*

Veneration for the Lotos continues to exist in Hindūstan, Tibet, and Nepaul, as powerfully now as in ancient times. "The Tibetians," says Sir William Jones, "are said to embellish their temples with it, and a native of Nepal made prostrations before it on entering my study, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination." With the Egyptians it ornamented the head of Osiris, and it still adorns some of the divinities of India. It was supposed to have served at the birth of one of these, for his cradle. The new-born god was seen floating on a flower on the water.† A boy sitting on a Lotos, is found

* Jones, vol. v. p. 128.

† See Voyage à Siam des Pères Jesuites envoyés par

on some ancient Greek medals and engravings, and is said to represent the dawn.* But, abstracted from this tradition, both Hindūs and Egyptians paid adoration to the sun; and venerated water, considering heat and moisture as the sources of production, and indispensable to existence. The appearance, therefore, on the water of a flower of uncommon beauty, as if spreading to salute the rising orb, and of its again

le Roi (Louis XIV.) aux Indes et à la Chine;—and Sketches on the Hindūs, vol. ii. pp. 123 to 232.

* See Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, vol. iii. p. 170, and vol. xl. p. 275. M. de Guignes observes: "Il est singulier de trouver un livre Indien qui porte le nom de *Fleur de Lotos*, plante qui étoit si célébre en Egypte. Cette métaphore est prise des fables Indiennes. Abraham Roger rapporte, d'après le Vedam, que Dieu ayant dessein de faire le monde, avoit laissé flotter sur l'eau la feuille d'un arbre sous la forme d'un petit enfant qui jouoit avec le gros orteil dans sa bouche, et qu'il tira de son nombril une certaine fleur qu'ils nommeat Tamara, d'où Brahma étoit sorti. Cette fleur qui est le Lotos, croît dans les étangs; ils l'estiment beaucoup, et Lacshmi, femme de Vishnu, est toujours représentée avec cette fleur à la main."—See likewise Sketches on the Hindūs, vol. ii. Sketch 13.

seeming to close on his disappearing, were circumstances which might easily be interpreted by the priesthood to proceed from something more than natural causes.

Whether veneration for the Lotos was adopted by the Egyptians from the Hindūs, or whether it originated from causes common to both countries, may be doubtful; but Sir William Jones imagines that even the name Nile may have been taken from the Sanscrit word *Nila,* blue. Dionysius, he observes,* calls that river an azure

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* Dionysius, Orbis Descriptio, &c.

Mr. Wilford informs us that Hindū authors also name this river Cali as well as Nila. "The river Cali took its name from the goddess Ma-ha-cali, supposed to have made her first appearance on its banks in the character of Rajarajeswari, called also Isani and Isi; and, in the character of Sati, she was transformed into the river itself. The word Cala signifies *black*; and, from the root *Cal,* it means also *devouring*, whence it is applied to Time; and from both senses in the feminine, to the goddess in her *destructive* capacity; an interpretation adopted, as we shall see hereafter, in the Puranas. In her character of Ma-ha-cali she has many other epithets, all implying different shades of *black*,

stream, an appearance which it is said to present, before it is disturbed by the waters flowing into it, during the rains, from the mountains of Abyssinia.

Dr. Edward Smith supposes the Indian Lotos, and the Egyptian plant, Nymphæa Nilufer, to be different. The former he distinguishes under the names of Cyamus, and the Indian Bean; and observes, that the latter became important in the Egyptian mythology, only as a substitute for the former; and hence, says he, "I have for some time presumed to deduce an argument in support of the doctrine now prevalent, on other grounds, that the religion of the Egyptians was adopted from the East." He proceeds, afterwards, to suppose the seeds of the Cyamus to be "the celebrated Pythagorean bean;" and he rejects the

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or *dark azure*; and in the Calica-puran, they are all ascribed to the river. They are Cali, or Cala, Nila, Asita, Shyama, or Shyamala, Mechaca, Anjanabha, Crishna." See Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 303, article on Egypt and the Nile from the ancient books of the Hindūs, by Mr. Francis Wilford.

various conjectures of Aristotle and Cicero, which are unquestionably far from being satisfactory. It has, indeed, been objected to Dr. Smith's opinion, that it cannot be imagined that Pythagoras would forbid the use of an exotic vegetable, perhaps even unknown in Greece.* The argument is specious, but not conclusive. The author of it allows that the beans of the Lotos preserve their qualities for years; and we know that many of the productions of Africa and Asia, were, in the time of Pythagoras, brought in abundance to Greece, especially to Athens, and consequently to Magna Græcia. But Diogenes Laertius says, that beans were forbidden by Pythagoras *in conformity to the decrees of the priesthood who preside at the mysteries.* Therefore, taking this as the only reason assigned by him who made the ordinance, it certainly gives strength to Dr. Smith's supposition, and confirms the opinion entertained of Pythagoras having borrowed many of his

* Botanical Magazine, vol. xxiii. pl. 903.

religious tenets from the Hindūs, not from the Egyptians; and that he issued the ordinance as one of those tenets, without presuming to explain the mystery in which it was involved.*

Herodotus, when speaking of the Egyptian Lotos, says, that the inhabitants used both its seed and root as articles of food; and he adds, that the seed resembled that of the poppy, and that the root was round, and about the size of an ordinary apple.† If we admit this statement of the father of history to be correct, it appears to afford additional proof in favour of the statements above given; for it is a well known fact, that no extremity, no reward whatever, will induce a Hindū to eat of the Lotos.

The aquatic plant that bears the general name of Lotos, though of various species, is probably of the same genus: but how it

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* In the works attributed to him, there is one *on Mysteries*, which began by saying, *respect in silence sacred things*.

† Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 92.

came to obtain the name of Lotos, we know not; as the Rhamnus Lotos, which (as already observed) gave the name to the people called by the Greeks Lotophagæ, is a shrub growing in a dry soil.*

But, besides the Lotos, many other flowers were anciently, as they are now, objects of veneration with the Hindūs. They hold principal places in their mythology, and furnish to their poets many beautiful allegories. Those venerated by the Egyptians and Greeks, are so universally known, as to make it superfluous to repeat their names; we shall, however, mention a few of those

* Besides the different authors above quoted on the subject of the aquatic Lotos, see Theophrastus, on Plants.—Dioscorides, on what is termed Materia Medica.—Prosper Alpinus de Plant. Exotic.; and Historia Egypti Naturalis.—Rumphius, Herbarium Amboinense, vol. vi. p. 168.—Hortus Malabaricus, vol. ii. The few words Virgil says of it in the Georgics, are of no consequence, and evidently refer to the shrub of the Syrtis Minor: nor does the short mention made of it by Diodorus Siculus throw any light on the subject; but he seems to allude to an aquatic plant.

which enter into the mythology of the Hindūs.

Sara, or Arrow-cane, named also Gundra, or Playful, and Tajanaca, or Acute. "This beautiful and superb grass, is highly celebrated in the Puranas; the Indian god of war was born in a grove of it, which burst into a flame; the gods gave notice of his birth to the nymph of the Pleiads, who descended and suckled the child, thence named Carticeya. This plant is often described with praise by the Hindū poets, for the whiteness of its blossoms; which, by the effects of the sun-beams, give to a large plain, at some distance, the appearance of a broad river. The internodal parts of the culms, are made into implements that serve the inhabitants of Hindūstan to write on their polished paper."*

Durva, called likewise Amanta, belongs to the genus Agrostis of Linnæus. "Its flowers, in their perfect state, are among the loveliest objects in the vegetable world,

* Jones.

and appear, through a lens, like minute rubies and emeralds in constant motion from the least breath of air. It is the sweetest and most nutritious pasture for cattle, and its utility, added to its beauty, induced the Hindūs in their earliest ages to believe that it was the mansion of a benevolent nymph. It is celebrated in the Vedas, in the text of the A't'harvana."*

The Cusa, or Cusha, named also Darbha and Pavitra, by the description of its leaves, seems to be the Ficus Religiosus of Linnæus. "Every law-book, and almost every poem in Sanscrit contains frequent allusions to the holiness of this plant; and in the fourth Veda we have the following address to it at the close of a terrible incantation: *Thee, O Darbha, the learned proclaim a divinity, not subject to age or death: thee, they call the arm of Indra, the preserver of regions, the destroyer of enemies: a gem that gives increase to the field. At the time when the ocean resounded, when the clouds mur-*

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* Jones.

mured, and lightnings flashed, then was Dàrbha produced, pure as a drop of fine gold. Some of the leaves taper to a most acute evanescent point, whence the Pundits often say of a sharp minded man, that his intellects are as acute as the point of the Cusa leaf."*

The Bandhuca, a species of the Ixora of Linnæus, is often mentioned by the Hindū poets. It is perhaps the Ixora Coccinea venerated by the Chinese under the name of Santanhoa.

The Singata, placed by the Hindūs among their lunar constellations, seems to be the same as the Trapa Bicornis of Linnæus.

Chandana, or Sandalum, is frequently mentioned in the ancient books of the Hindūs.—"A Sanscrit stanza, of which the following version is literally exact, alludes to the belief that the Vansa, or Bhânse, or bamboos, as they are vulgarly called, often take fire by collision: it is addressed,

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* Jones.

under the allegory of the Sandal tree, to a virtuous man dwelling in a town inhabited by contending factions: *Delight of the world! beloved Chandana! stay no longer in this forest, which is overspread with pernicious Vensas, whose hearts are unsound; and who, being themselves confounded in the scorching flames, kindled by their mutual attrition, will consume, not their own families merely, but this whole wood.*"*

Camalata, or Suryacanti, or Sunshine; by Linnæus, Ipomœa. "Its elegant blossoms, are *celestial rosy red, love's proper hue,* and have justly procured it the name of Camalata, or Love's Creeper. It may also mean a mythological plant, by which all desires are granted to such as inhabit the heaven of Indra; and if ever flower was worthy of Paradise, it is our charming Ipomœa. Many species of this genus, and of its near ally, the Convolvulus, grow wild in our Indian provinces, some spreading a purple light over the hedges, some snow-

* Jones.

white, with a delicate fragrance, one breathing after sunset the odour of cloves."*

The Cadamba, or Nipa, Priyaca, Halipreya, which is also distinguished by other names, appears to be the Nauclea of Linnæus. Of this there are three species on the coast of Coromandel and in the northern Circars; which, we believe, are also to be found in most other parts of Hindūstan: 1. The *Parvifolia*, or Bota-cadamie, which grows to a large tree; its flowers are small, of a light yellow colour; the wood, of a light chestnut, firm and close grained, is used for a variety of purposes. 2. The *Cordifolia*, or Daduga of the natives; the flowers of which resemble the former; the tree is also large; the wood is of a beautiful light yellowish colour, very close grained, and much used for furniture; planks of it may be had from one to above two feet diameter: both trees are natives of mountainous parts. 3. The *Purpurea*, or Bagada of the Hindūs, is a small tree, chiefly found in val-

* Jones.

leys; the flowers are larger than those of the two others, and of a purple colour.* "It is one of the most elegant of Indian trees, and one of the holiest in the opinion of the Hindūs. The poet Calidas alludes to it by the name of Nipa; and it may be justly celebrated among the beauties of summer, when the multitude of aggregate flowers, each consisting of a common receptacle perfectly globular, and covered uniformly with gold-coloured florets, from which the white thread-form styles conspicuously emerge, exhibits a rich and singular appearance on the branchy trees, decked with foliage charmingly verdant. The flowers have an odour very agreeable in the open air, which the ancient Indians compared to the scent of new wine, and they call the plant, Halipreya, or *beloved by Halin*, that is, the third Rama, who was evidently the Bacchus of India."†

* See Roxburgh's Plants of the Coast of Coromandel, vol. i. pp. 40 and 41.

† Jones.

Asoca, or Venjula. The flowers of this tree are "fascicled, fragrant just after sun-set and before sun-rise, when refreshed by the evening and morning dew; beautifully diversified with tints of orange-scarlet, of pale yellow, and of bright orange; and forms a variety of shades, according to the age of each blossom that opens in the fascicle. The vegetable world scarcely exhibits a richer sight than an Asoca tree in full bloom: it is about as high as an ordinary cherry-tree. It perpetually occurs in the old Indian poems, and in treatises on religious rites."*

Parnasa, or Tulasi, termed by Linnæus Ocymum, sacred to Krishna, and highly venerated by the Hindūs, "who have given one of its names to a sacred grove of their Parnassus, on the banks of the Yamuna. A fable truly Ovidian is told in the Puranas concerning the metamorphosis of the nymph Tulasi, who was beloved by the

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* Jones.

pastoral god, into the shrub which has since borne her name."*

Patali, or Patala, the Bignonia of Linnæus. The flowers of this tree are exquisitely fragrant, are preferred by bees to all other flowers, and compared by poets to the quiver of Camadeva, the god of love. The Patali blossoms early in the spring, before a leaf appears on the tree, but the fruit is not ripe till the following winter."†

Nagacesara, the Mesua of Linnæus, and which is described in the Hortus Malabaricus,‡ under the name of Balutta Tsiampacum. "This tree is one of the most beautiful on the earth; the delicious odour of its blossoms justly gives them a place in the quiver of Camadeva. In the poem called Naishadha, there is a wild but elegant couplet, where the poet compares the white of the Nagacesara, from which the bees were scattering the pollen of the numerous gold-coloured anthers, to an alabaster wheel on which Cama was whetting

* Jones. † Idem. ‡ Vol. iii. p. 63.

his arrows, while sparks of fire were dispersed in every direction."*

Palasa. "The flowers raceme-fascicled, large, red, silvered with down. Few trees are considered by the Hindūs as more venerable and holy. The Palasa is named with honour in the Vedas, in the laws of Menu, and in Sanscrit poems, both sacred and popular. It gave its name to the memorable plain vulgarly called Plassey, but properly Palasi.† A grove of Palasas was formerly the principal ornament of Crishnagar, where we still see the trunk of an aged tree, near six feet in circumference."‡

Sami, Sactu-p'hala, or Siva, the Mimosa of Linnæus, but of which there are numerous species. "The spikes, or flowers, yellow, perfuming the woods and roads with a rich aromatic odour. The gum, semi-pellucid,

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* Jones.

† Where the late Lord Clive obtained, on the 23rd of June, 1757, a victory over Surajah Dowlah, which, in its consequences, gave to the English the possession of the rich provinces of Bengal.

‡ Jones.

is of the same qualities, but more transparent than that of the Nilotic, or Arabian species. The wood, extremely hard, is used by the Brahmins to kindle their sacred fire, by rubbing two pieces of it together, when of a proper age and sufficiently dried."*

Bilva, or Malura, by Linnæus termed Crataeva, of which there are three species, but the one here referred to is the Crataeva Religiosa. This plant bears a large spheroidal berry, with numerous seeds. "The fruit nutritious, warm, cathartic; in taste delicious, in fragrance exquisite. It is called Sriphala, because it sprang, say the Indian poets, from the milk of Sri, the goddess of abundance, who bestowed it on mankind at the request of Iswara, the god of nature, whence he alone wears a chaplet of Bilva flowers: to him only the Hindūs offer them; and when they see any of them fallen on the ground, they take them up with reverence, and carry them to his temple."†

* Jones. † Idem.

Besides other proofs that might be produced, to shew that polytheism was not of Grecian origin, a passage of Herodotus may be mentioned, where, in speaking of the Pelasgi, he says, that they distinguished not the Gods by any names; they called them *Gods*, by which they meant to say *ordainers*; that they afterwards learnt the names of divinities from the Egyptians; that they consulted the oracle at Dodona, to know if they should adopt them, which answered that they might, and that from the Pelasgi they were spread through Greece. There, as in India, the number of divinities was afterwards gradually increased by deifying wise men and heroes. Many deities and objects of adoration were also invented by poets, who ventured sometimes even to personify inanimate things, as well as mental qualities:—fountains, groves, and admired trees and flowers.

The Hindū divinities at their feasts drank a beverage named Amrūti, as the Grecian gods drank their Ambrosia.

" It might be proved beyond controversy,

that we now live among the adorers of those very deities, who were worshipped under different names in old Greece and Italy; and among the professors of those philosophical tenets, which the Ionic and Attic writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of Neptune, the eagle of Jupiter, the satyrs of Bacchus, the bow of Cupid, and the chariot of the Sun; on another we hear the cymbals of Rhea, the songs of the Muses, and the pastoral tales of Apollo Nomius. In more retired scenes, in groves, and in seminaries of learning, we may perceive the Brahmins, and the Sarmanes, mentioned by Clemens, disputing in the forms of logic, or discoursing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the soul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debasement, wandering, and final union with her source. The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the Dersana Sastra, comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stoa, and the

Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India."*

In addition to what is here said by Sir William Jones, we shall observe, that Philostratus makes Pythagoras say to Thespesion, when reproaching him for his partiality to the Egyptians: "Admirer as you are of the philosophy which the Indians invented, why do you not attribute it to its real parents, rather than to those who are only so by adoption." Iarchus, the Hindû

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* Third Annual Discourse of Sir William Jones to the Asiatic Society. See his Works, 8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 36.

"We may venture to affirm, that, on attentive inquiry, we shall find in the Puranas, and other fabulous writings of the Hindûs, almost the whole mythology of the Greeks and Romans. Some particulars may be modified, and heroes in both of the latter countries may be found, who have been transformed into demi-gods; but all the principal features of the system may be traced."—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 29.

philosopher, likewise says to Apollonius of Tyana, who asked his opinion concerning the soul ;—"We think of it what Pythagoras taught you, and what we taught the Egyptians." Lucian, when making Philosophy complain to Jupiter, of some who had dishonoured her by their conduct, supposes the Indians to have been the first who received her amongst them : "I went amongst the Indians, and made them come down from their elephants and converse with me. From them I went to the Ethiopians, and then came to the Egyptians."

" De l'école Ionienne sortit le chef d'une école beaucoup plus célébre. Pythagore, né à Samos, vers l'an 590, avant notre ère, fut d'abord disciple de Thales, qui lui conseilla de voyager en Egypte, où il se fit initier aux mystères des prêtres, pour connoître à fond leur doctrine. Ensuite, il alla sur les bords du Gange, interroger les Bracmanes. De retour dans sa patrie, le despotisme sous lequel elle gémissoit alors, le força de s'en exiler, et il se retira en Italie où il fonda son école. Toutes les

vérités astronomiques de l'école Ionienne furent enseignés avec plus de développement dans celle de Pythagore; mais ce qui la distingue principalement, est la connoissance des deux mouvemens de la terre, sur elle-même et autour du soleil. Pythagore l'enveloppa d'un voile obscur, pour la cacher au vulgaire; mais elle fut exposée dans un grand jour par son disciple Philolaus."*

The four Yugs, or ages of the Hindūs, bear so marked an affinity to those of the Greeks and Romans, as we conceive leaves but little doubt of their origin. Among the latter nations, they were distinguished by the epithets of golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages. Those of the Hindūs are named Satya, Tirtah, Dwapar, and Kaly: names, which, like those of the Greeks and Romans, express a progressive decline from purity to baseness. Though the Satya, like the Saturnian age, abounds in precious things, Satya strictly means truth

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* Exposition du Système du Monde, par M. La Place, p. 333.

and probity. "The duration of the Indian Yugs is disposed so regularly and artificially, that it cannot be admitted as natural or probable. Men do not become reprobate in a geometrical progression, or at the termination of regular periods; yet so well proportioned are the Yugs, that even the length of human life is diminished as they advance, from an hundred thousand years in a subdecuple ratio; and, as the number of principal Avatars in each decreases arithmetically from four, so the number of years in each decreases geometrically, and all together constitute the extravagant sum of four million three hundred and twenty thousand years; which aggregate, multiplied by seventy-one, is the period in which every Menu is believed to preside over the world. The comprehensive mind of an Indian chronologist has no limits; and the reigns of fourteen Menus are only a single day of Brahma, fifty of which days have elapsed, according to the Hindūs, from the time of the creation. That all this puerility, as it seems at first

view, may be only an astronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed stars, of which the Brahmins made a mystery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe; but so technical an arrangement excludes all idea of serious history."*

They tell us, that in the first ages, men were greatly superior to the present race, not only in the length of their lives, but in the powers of their bodily and mental faculties; and that in consequence of vice, they gradually declined, and at last in this, the earthen age, or Kaly-Yug, degenerated to what we now see them.

In addition, however, to what has been

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* Jones, Asiat. Res. vol. i. 8vo. edit. p. 236 and seq. It seems now to be generally understood by those who have studied and examined the writings of the Hindûs in their original language, that those periods absolutely refer to astronomical revolutions, particularly the procession of the equinoxes; and that the Brahmins gave that immense space of time to their Yugs, and employed the mystic jargon in which they express themselves, to confound and excite the wonder of the ignorant.

said on the affinity that exists between the mythology and ages of the Greeks and Hindūs, instances of resemblance are to be discovered in many of the practices, notions, and opinions of both nations. We find the same belief in the faculty, supposed to be enjoyed by certain persons, of looking into futurity, and discovering the most hidden secrets;* in magic and incantation; and

* The Astrologers of India hold at least as conspicuous a place in that country, as those of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, held with them. The mind seems to be naturally disposed to superstition. From impressions made by pretended examples of divination, not only Hindūs, but Mohammedans frequently, in moments of anxiety, consult the Indian astrologers. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the life of Tippoo Sultan, a man of a bold, intrepid character, and, of all Musalmāns, one of the most zealous and intolerant in respect to his religion. The circumstance we allude to, happened on the day that his capital was taken by storm.

"On the Sultan's return to his apartment," (from visiting the ramparts) "an incident occurred which tended much to depress his spirits, and to diminish the courage of his attendants. A procession of Brahmin astrologers now waited on him, and announced, that

the catalogue of omens, of things and days considered as lucky, or unfortunate, will be found on examination, to be equally numerous with those of the Greeks, and in many instances precisely the same.*

some dreadful misfortune would befall him on *that day*, unless averted by the prayers of the righteous, and by pious offerings.

"Whether the Sultan's mind was now depressed by fear, or tainted by superstition, he repaired to his palace, and issued orders for *all the ceremonies* prescribed by the Brahmins to be duly performed, and, having given them several presents, requested their prayers for the prosperity of his government.

"His father, Hyder Ally, was very superstitious, and never commenced any undertaking without consulting the Brahmins, whom he liberally paid. This is the first time we have heard of Tippoo's consulting them."†

* Many examples might be adduced, of this affinity; but we shall mention one only in regard to omens, and which, ridiculous as it may seem, did not by any means appear so to the Hindūs. A Rajah of an illustrious family in the province of Rajahmundry, demanded an interview with the *chief*, or European governor. The day

† See "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan, and Memoirs of his life, &c." by Charles Stewart, Esq. p. 87.

and hour were accordingly fixed for their meeting, which was at the Government House, in a fort adjoining to the town also named Rajahmundry, and which is the capital of the province. The Rajah, whose place of residence was about thirty miles from it, but who had come thither on purpose for the meeting, was lodged in the town. He set out for the interview, accompanied by a numerous retinue, but in coming through one of the gates of the fort, a soldier happened to sneeze. The Rajah immediately gave orders to halt, offered up some short prayer, and sending for his first minister, who was in a palankin behind him, ordered him to wait on the chief, with a request to defer their meeting until some more auspicious moment. On returning to the place where he lodged, Brahmins and divines were summoned, to be consulted on the occasion. Yet the Rajah, abstracted from superstitious prejudices, was a sensible man. His prejudices were the effects of impressions received in infancy, and which his education instead of correcting, had confirmed.

With the Greeks and Romans, sneezing was regarded as infallibly portentous. But things considered as ominous equally by the Hindūs, and by the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, are too numerous to be quoted. We shall only add one other example. It is the regard for the right side, in preference to the left. We shall select an instance, which shews that even the most enlightened minds, and men of the most enterprizing characters, are not always free from the influence of early impressions, and hence it is of the highest importance to guard children from

imbibing any notions that may tend to shackle the mind, or weaken the powers of reason. Pliny very gravely reports, that on the day when Augustus narrowly escaped from being killed in a mutiny, it was recollected that he had put on the left shoe before the right. "Divus Augustus laevum prodidit sibi calceum præposterè inductum, quo die seditione militari propè afflictus est." (Plin. lib. ii. c. 7.) In dressing, the right side of the body was always clothed first. If a servant presented his master with the left sleeve of his garment first, or his left shoe or sandal, it was considered as portending something unlucky.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY OF THE HINDŪS.

WHATEVER variety of opinions may obtain among the Hindūs concerning spirit and matter, as well as the creation and deluge, the fundamental principles of their religion consist in the belief of the existence of one Supreme Being only, of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Their precepts of morality inculcate the practice of virtue as necessary for procuring happiness even in this transient life; their religious doctrines make their felicity in a future state to depend on it.*

* "The doctrine of the metempsychosis is fully explained in the Institutes of Menu. The other dog-

When speaking of the Supreme Being, they frequently use the expressions of, *the first cause; the universal and eternal essence; that which has ever been, and which will ever continue; that which vivifies and pervades all things; he who is every where present, and causes the celestial bodies to revolve in the course he has prescribed to them.**

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mata may be epitomized in the following heads:—1. The existence of one God, from whom all things proceed, and to whom all must return. 2. A tripartite division of the good principle, for the purposes of creation, preservation, and renovation. 3. The necessary existence of an evil principle, occupied in counteracting the benevolent purposes of the first, in their execution by the devata, or subordinate genii, to whom is entrusted the control over the various operations of nature."—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. p. 322.

* "One great and incomprehensible Being has alone existed from all eternity. Every thing we behold, and we ourselves, are portions of him. The soul, mind, or intellect, of gods and men, and of all sentient creatures, are detached portions of the universal soul, to which at stated periods they are destined to return. But the mind of finite beings is impressed by an uninterrupted series of illusions, which they consider as real, until again united to the great fountain of truth. Of

This religion, in its true abstract sense, is what we understand by deism. The love of imagery in a people of fertile and lively imaginations, may have occasioned their personifying what they conceived to be some of the attributes of God; or such personification may have arisen from the idea which generally prevails, of the necessity of presenting things in a way better adapted to the comprehensions of the vulgar, than the abstruse idea of an undiscribable, invisible being; and hence, probably, the invention of a Brahma, a Vishnu and a Siva.*

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these illusions, the first and most essential is termed Ahangcār, or individuality. By its influence, when detached from its source, the soul becomes ignorant of its own nature, origin, and destiny. It considers itself as a separate existence, and no longer a spark of the divinity, a link of one immeasurable chain, an infinitely small but indispensable portion of one great whole. The divine being above described, is not the object of worship: he is named Brahm, a noun of the neuter gender."—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. pp. 320, 321.

* "The first created beings were the persons of the

Brahma is represented in a human shape, with four heads looking to the four quar-

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Hindū Triad, viz. Brahma, Vishnu, and Iswara (or Siva). The name of the first is derived from a root signifying to expand: to him was assigned the task of creation. The name of Vishnu comes from the root *vis*, which means to penetrate, or pervade: the world, after its creation, was entrusted to him to preserve. The word Iswara signifies powerful. His is the power of destruction, or rather, as the Hindūs consider it, of renovation, or mutation of form, which implies the destruction of that which precedes. Hence, the phallus, the emblem of production, becomes that of the god of destruction. The Roman poet has distinctly expressed the idea, which led the Indians and Egyptians to assign this apparently incompatible symbol to Iswara:

> "Haud igitur penitus pereunt quæcunque videntur:
> "Quando alia ex alio reficit natura, nec ullam
> "Rem gigni patitur, nisi morte adjutam aliena."

And again—

> "Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,
> "Continuò hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante."

From his own substance, the Divine Being then formed the goddess Pracriti, or nature. She, under different forms and names, is the consort of the three gods who govern the universe. 1st. As Sareswati, she is the consort of Brahma, the patroness of learning, the goddess

ters of the world: Vishnu and Siva, under various forms, but no emblem or visible sign of Brihm, the omnipotent, is to be found. Those who openly profess deism in India, justly consider the great mystery of the existence of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, as beyond human comprehension, as much as space without limits, or time without beginning or end: man can conceive and measure parts of time and space; but, would he carry his thoughts to extension that has no bounds, and to duration that never began and will ever continue, he must be lost and confounded in the maze that presents itself. Every creature, however, who is endowed with the faculty of thinking, must be conscious of the existence of God, a first

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of eloquence, and the inventress of the lyre. 2dly. As Sri, she is the beloved of Vishnu, the goddess of abundance and of fertility. 3rd. As Isā, she is the companion of Iswara, and the vanquisher of the giants. These were the gods (deva) produced by the volition of the deity. All other beings were produced by Brahma, after creating the world."—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. p. 321.

cause: the attempt to explain the nature of that Being, or in any way to assimilate it with our own, the Hindū deists consider not only as a proof of folly, but also of extreme impiety.

The system of representing the attributes of God by ostensible objects, as practised by all the believers in the doctrines of the Vedas, once established, was afterwards nourished, extended, and involved in mystery, by an ingenious and artful priesthood As the Brahmins rigidly monopolized learning and the sciences, all others were naturally exposed to receive implicitly what was promulgated by them; and things the most simple in themselves, were held out to, and believed, by the multitude, as proceeding from supernatural causes. The aid of priests, as the only agents between man and the divinities, became constantly wanted, either to procure their protection or avert their wrath. In multiplying divinities, they found new sources of wealth; every one had some deity to fear, or to solicit, and who on those occasions

was to be approached with some offering. But in a country, where the food of the people consists almost entirely of vegetables, and where, as in India, no part of the year is sterile, perhaps no divinity has been so productive to the Brahmins as Lacshmi, who as *Sris*, corresponds with the Grecian Ceres; to whom must be added Bhavani, who in one of her attributes is likewise named the goddess of abundance.

The making of pious vows in case of escape from danger, or of success in some projected enterprize, seems to be as much encouraged by the priesthood, and practised by the people of India, as it was formerly in Greece, and in modern times by pious Catholics.

The book of the Hindū Scriptures, named Veda, is supposed to be of divine origin, revealed by Brahma to Menu, by him communicated to a holy personage, or demigod, named Bhrigu, and afterwards arranged in its present order by a learned sage, who obtained the name of Vyasa, or Veda-vya-

sa, compiler of the Vedas. He divided it into four parts, named Rich, Yajush, Saman, and At'harvana; each of which bears the denomination of Veda, Rig-veda, Yajur-veda, Sama-veda, and At'harva-veda; but doubts exist whether the last be really a part of the original Veda, or whether it be not a chapter added to it.*

* See article on "the Vedas, or sacred writings of the Hindūs," by Mr. Colebrook, Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 337.—and a note, by M. Langlès, in the first translation into French of that work, vol. i. p. 393.

A complete copy of the Vedas, in eleven volumes in folio, in the Devanagary character, and Sanscrit language, was presented to the British Museum by the late Colonel Polier, who is several times mentioned in the Asiatic Researches, and in Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindūstan. Colonel Polier had resided a number of years in India, first in the military service of the English, afterwards at Delhy in that of the Emperor Shaw Allum, and during his stay in that country, had bestowed much pains in acquiring a knowledge of the learning and religion of the Hindūs.

Sir William Jones says, "That the Vedas are very ancient, and far older than any other Sanscrit compositions, I will venture to assert from my own examination of them, and a comparison of their style with that of the Purana, or Dharma Sastra."

The work named Upanishad, contains chiefly extracts from the Vedas; the Upaveda, commentaries on them.

The poem entituled the Maha-bharat, or the *Great Bharat*, relates the wars between the Kourous and the Pandous. It contains, we are told, no less than 125,000 verses, and is supposed to have been written by Krishna Douypen Vyas above 4,000 years ago. A famous battle, said to have been fought at the beginning of the Kaly-Youg, near the spot where Delhy now stands, gave the sovereignty to Yuddhishthira, the oldest of the Pandous. Arjuna, who bears a conspicuous part, and is said to have been a favourite of the god Vishnu, never himself reigned, though his son succeeded to the throne.*

The Pouranas, consisting of eighteen volumes in verse, are histories. The Oupa-

* An episode of this poem, containing dialogues between Krishna and Arjuna, named "Bhagvat Geeta," was translated from the Sanscrit into English, by Mr., now Dr. Charles Wilkins.

Pourana, which is an addition to those, consists also of eighteen volumes, containing things said to have been omitted in the Pouranas, as well as a commentary on each. In this work, beside various other matters, is the epic poem, named Ramayan, containing the wars and heroic feats of Rama, which are related in twenty-four thousand couplets.*

The Shastras, and the commentaries upon them, are, we believe, still more voluminous than any of the other sacred books above-mentioned. The Dherma-Shastra alone consists of above ten large volumes, comprehending all law books of authority.†

But it would be useless to recapitulate

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* An English translation of the Ramayuna has been executed by Drs. Carey and Marshman, in three vols. 4to.

† "The word *Sastra*, derived from a root signifying *to ordain*, means generally an *ordinance*, and particularly a sacred ordinance delivered by inspiration: properly, therefore, this word is applied only to sacred literature, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch."—*Jones.*

the names of all the numerous Hindū writings that have been mentioned of late years, unless we were at the same time to give an analysis of each: we shall, therefore, only observe, that from the researches and examinations of learned orientalists, it fully appears, that the books of the Hindūs contain not only their civil and religious institutions, but also treat of all the various branches of science and literature which are known to, or practised by Europeans; though unquestionably some of the sciences have, in the course of time, and in consequence of discoveries, been improved, and may continue to receive still further improvements.*

The following extracts from their works, will serve to illustrate what has been advanced with respect to the real tenets of the Hindū religion.

* Those who may wish to inform themselves more particularly on this interesting subject, are recommended to consult the works already quoted in the course of this essay, together with those which are referred to in the following pages.

"By one Supreme Ruler is this universe pervaded; even every world in the whole circle of nature. Enjoy pure delight, O man, in abandoning all thoughts of this perishable world; and covet not the wealth of any creature existing."

"There is one Supreme Spirit, which nothing can shake, more swift than the thought of man."

"That Supreme Spirit moves at pleasure, but in itself is immovable: it is distant from us, yet near us: it pervades this whole system of worlds, yet is infinitely beyond it."

"The man who considers all beings as existing even in the Supreme Spirit, and the Supreme Spirit as pervading all beings, henceforth views no creature with contempt."

"In him who knows that all spiritual beings are the same in kind with the Supreme Spirit,—what room can there be for delusion of mind, or what room for sorrow, when he reflects on the identity of spirit?"

"The pure enlightened soul assumes a

luminous form, with no gross body, with no perforation, with no veins, or tendons, —unblemished, untainted by sin;—itself being a ray from the infinite spirit, which knows the past, and the future,—which pervades all,—which existed with no cause but itself,—which created all things as they are in ages most remote."

"To those regions, where evil spirits dwell, and which utter darkness involves, will such men surely go after death, as destroy the purity of their own soul."

"They who are ignorantly devoted to the mere ceremonies of religion, are fallen into thick darkness; but they surely have a thicker gloom around them, who are solely attached to speculative science."

"A distinct reward, they say, is reserved for ceremonies, and a distinct reward, they say, for divine knowledge; adding, *This we have heard from sages who declared it to us.*"

"He alone is acquainted with the nature of ceremonies, and with that of speculative science, who is acquainted with both at

once: by religious ceremonies he passes the gulph of death, and by divine knowledge he attains immortality."

"They, who adore only the appearances and forms of the deity, are fallen into thick darkness; but they surely have a thicker gloom around them, who are solely devoted to abstract thoughts."

"A distinct reward, they say, is obtained by adoring the forms and attributes, and a distinct reward, they say, by adoring the abstract essence; adding: *This we have heard from sages who declare it to us.*"

"O M, Remember me, divine Spirit!"

"O M, Remember my deeds."

"That all-pervading spirit, that spirit which gives light to the visible sun, even the same in kind am I, though infinitely distant in degree. Let my soul return to the immortal spirit of God, and then let my body, which ends in ashes, return to dust!"

"O Spirit, who pervadest fire, lead us in a straight path to the riches of beatitude! Thou, O God, possessest all the treasures

of knowledge: remove each foul taint from our souls; we continually approach thee with the highest praise, and the most fervid adoration."

"As a tree, the lord of the forest, even so, without fiction, is man; his hairs are as leaves; his skin, as exterior bark."

"Through the skin flows blood; through the rind, sap: from a wounded man, therefore, blood gushes, as the vegetable fluid from a tree that is cut."

"His muscles are as interwoven fibres; the membrane round his bones as interior bark, which is closely fixed; his bones are as the hard pieces of wood within: their marrow is composed of pith."

"Since the tree, when felled, springs again from the root, from what root springs mortal man when felled by the hand of death?"

"Say not, he springs from seed: seed surely comes from the living. A tree, no doubt, rises from seed, and after death has a visible renewal."

"But a tree which they have plucked up

by the root, flourishes individually no more. From what root then springs mortal man when felled by the hand of death?—who can make him spring again to birth?"

"God, who is perfect wisdom, perfect happiness. He is the final refuge of the man, who has liberally bestowed his wealth, who has been firm in virtue, who knows and adores that Great One."

"Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the godhead who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat."

"What the sun and light are to this visible world, such is truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; and, as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge, by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the Being of beings: that is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude."

That Being "without eyes sees, without ears hears all; he knows whatever can be known, but there is none who knows him: Him the wise call the great, supreme, pervading spirit."

Of this verse, and a few others, a Pandit, named Radhacant, gives the following paraphrase.

"Perfect truth; perfect happiness; without equal; immortal; absolute unity; whom neither speech can describe, nor mind comprehend; all-pervading; all-transcending; delighted with his own boundless intelligence, not limited by space, or time; without feet, moving swiftly; without hands, grasping all worlds; without eyes, all-surveying; without ears, all-hearing; without an intelligent guide, understanding all; without cause, the first of all causes; all-ruling; all-powerful; the creator, preserver, transformer of all things; such is the Great One: this the Vedas declare."

"What relish can there be for enjoyment in this body; assailed by desire and wrath, by avarice and illusion, fear and

sorrow, envy and hate, by absence from those whom we love, and by union with those whom we dislike, by hunger and thirst, by disease and emaciation, by growth and decline, by old age and death?"

"Surely we see the things of this world tending to decay, even as these biting gnats and other insects; even as the grass of the field, and the trees of the forest, which spring up and then perish. But what are they?—Others, far greater, have been archers mighty in battle, and some have been kings of the whole earth.

"Sudhumna, Bhuridhumna, Indradhumna, Cuvalayaswa, Yanvanaswa, Avadhyaswa, Aswapati, Sasabindu, Havisehandra, Barishsha, Nahusha, Suryati, Yayati, Vicrava, Acshayasena, Priyavrata, and the rest.

"Marutta likewise, and Bharata, who enjoyed all corporeal delights, yet left their boundless prosperity, and passed from this world to the next.

"But what are they?—Others yet greater, Gandawas, Asuras, Racshasas, companies

of spirits, Pisachas, Uragas, and Grahas, have, we have seen, been destroyed.

"But what are they?—Others greater still have been changed; vast rivers dried; mountains torn up; the pole itself moved from its place; the cords of the stars rent asunder; the whole earth itself deluged with water: even angels hurled from their stations."

"May that soul of mine, which mounts aloft in my waking hours, as an ethereal spark, and which, even in my slumber, has a like ascent, soaring to a great distance, as an emanation from the light of lights, be united by devout meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

"May that soul of mine, by an agent similar to that with which the low-born perform their menial works, and the wise, deeply versed in sciences, duly solemnise their sacrificial rites; may that soul, which was itself the primæval oblation placed within all creatures, be united by devout

meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

" May that soul of mine, which is a ray of perfect wisdom, pure intellect and permanent existence, which is the unextinguishable light fixed within created bodies, without which no good act is performed, be united by devout meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

" May that soul of mine,—in which, as an immortal essence, may be comprised whatever has past, is present, or will be hereafter; by which the sacrifice, where seven ministers officiate, is properly solemnized;—be united by devout meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

" May that soul of mine, into which are inserted, like the spokes of a wheel in the axle of a car, the holy texts of the Rigveda, the Saman, and the Yajush; into which is interwoven all that belongs to created forms, be united by devout meditation with

the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

"May that soul which guides mankind, as a skilful charioteer guides his rapid horses with reins;—that soul which is fixed in my breast, exempt from old age, swift in its course,—may it be united by divine meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!"

What is here said of the soul alludes to the belief of the Hindūs, that it is *an emanation of the divine essence;* and future happiness, according to the Vedanta school, consists in being united with that essence, at the same time retaining a consciousness of existence.

In the translation of a fragment of a Sanscrit work entitled: *Instruction for the Ignorant,* it is said:

"Restrain, O ignorant man, thy desire of wealth, and become a hater of it in body, understanding, and mind: let the riches thou possessest be acquired by thy own good actions; with those gratify thy soul.

"The boy so long delights in his play, the youth so long pursues his beloved, the old so long brood over melancholy thoughts, that no man meditates on the Supreme Being.

"Who is thy wife, and who thy son? How great and wonderful is this world! who thou art, and whence thou comest? Meditate on this, my brother, and again on this.

"Be not proud of wealth and attendants, and youth; since time destroys all of them in the twinkling of an eye: check thy attachment to all these illusions, like Maya; fix thy heart on the foot of Brahma, and thou wilt soon know him.

"As a drop of water moves on the leaf of the Lotos; thus, or more slippery, is human life: the company of the virtuous endures here but for a moment; but that is the vehicle to bear thee over land and ocean.

"To dwell in the mansion of gods at the foot of a tree; to have the ground for a

bed, and a hide for vesture; to renounce all ties of family or connexions;—who would not receive delight from this devout abhorrence of the world?*

"Set not thy affections on foe, or friend; on a son, or a relation; in war and in peace bear an equal mind towards all; if thou desirest it, thou wilt soon be like Vishnu.

"Days and night, evening and morn, winter and spring, depart and return! Time sports, age passes on, desire and the wind continue unrestrained.

"When the body is tottering, the head grey, and the mouth toothless; when the smooth stick trembles in the hand which it supports, yet the vessel of covetousness remains unemptied.

"So soon born, so soon dead! so long lying in thy mother's womb! so great crimes

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* Hence those devotees, who, renouncing the world, are to be found living under the shade of a tree, or in solitary caverns.

are committed in the world! How then, O man, canst thou live here below with complacency?*

"Brahma, Indra, the sun, and Kudra—These are permanent, not thou, not I, not this or that people:—what, therefore, should occasion our sorrow?

"In thee, in me, in every other, Vishnu resides: in vain art thou angry with me, not bearing my approach:—this is perfectly true, all must be esteemed equal: be not, therefore, proud of a magnificent palace.

"This is the instruction of learners, delivered in twelve measures:—what more can be done with those, whom this work doth fill with devotion?

"Thus ends the book, named *Mohad-*

* To this and similar passages may probably be ascribed the too frequent practice of devotees voluntarily destroying themselves; some, in abstaining from food, others by throwing themselves under the wheels of those moveable towers, on which images at particular festivals are drawn in pompous procession.

mudgara, or the 'Ignorant Instructed,' composed by the holy, devout, and prosperous Sancar Acharya."

Abul Fazil says in the Ayeen Akbery:*

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* Iellaleddin Akber, sixth in descent from Timur, was one of the greatest and wisest princes that ever sat on the Mohammedan Imperial throne of Hindūstan. His father Humaioon, by the rebellion of Shir Khan, having been obliged in 1541, to quit his capital, and take refuge with his family in Agimire, Akber was born at Amercot in 1542. From Amercot, Humaioon went into Persia, and by the assistance of the Persian monarch recovered his crown in 1554; but, dying in 1556, Akber was proclaimed sovereign at the age of fourteen years, and died at Agra in 1605, after a happy and glorious reign of forty-nine years. He greatly extended his empire; but though a conqueror, he seems to have been truly the father of all his subjects. Hindūs and Mohammedans were equally protected by him; to all, justice was speedily and impartially administered, and the people in general secured against extortion and violence. In the execution of his wise and virtuous intentions, he was powerfully assisted by his celebrated Vizir, Abul Fazil, who by order of the Emperor, composed the work named Ayeen Akbery, containing an account of the empire, and the various institutes of Akber. He had also written the history of this prince, in a work named Akber-Namma, down to the forty-se-

"It has now come to light, that the generally received opinion of the Hindūs being polytheists, has no foundation in truth; for, although their tenets admit positions which are difficult to be defended, yet that they are worshippers of God, and only one God, are incontrovertible points."

"They unanimously believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolaters, as the ignorant suppose. I have myself frequently discoursed upon the subject with many learned and upright men of this religion, and comprehend their

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venth year of his reign, but was unfortunately murdered that year in his way back to court from the Deckan, whither he had been deputed by his master on some important affairs of government. Abul Fazil seems to have been not only a statesman, but a man of learning; and, when treating of the sciences and doctrines of the Hindūs, he frequently quotes Greek and Arabian authors. The Ayeen Akbery was translated into English by Mr. Francis Gladwin, and published at Calcutta in September, 1783, under the patronage of Mr. Hastings: an edition was printed at London, in 1800, in two vols. 8vo.

doctrine; which is, that the images are only representations of celestial beings,* to whom they turn themselves whilst at prayer, in order to prevent their thoughts from wandering; and they think it an indispensable duty to address the Deity after that manner."

After several other observations he adds: "Without compliment, there are to be found in this religion, men who have not their equal in any other for their godliness, and their abstinence from sensual gratifications."

He mentions different opinions, or sects, that have arisen among them; a thing unfortunately common to all religions: and when speaking of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, or Mahadea, he says: "Some believe, that God, who hath no equal, appeared on earth under these three forms without having been thereby polluted, in the same manner as the Christians speak of the Mes-

* Instead of *celestial* we presume *imaginary* is meant; the whole turn of the passage implies this.

siah. Others hold that all the three were only human beings, who on account of their sanctity and righteousness, were raised to these high dignities."

Bernier, who was an attentive traveller, a faithful narrator, and, in general, a judicious observer, gives the following account of a conversation he had with some of the principal Pundits at Benares, upon the subject of the worship of idols by the Hindūs.

"Lorsque je descendis le long du Gange, et que je passai par Benares, j'allai trouver le chef des Pundets, qui fait là sa demeure ordinaire. C'est un religieux tellement renommé pour son savoir, que Chah Jehan, tant pour sa science que pour complaire aux Rajas, lui fit pension de deux mille roupies. C'étoit un gros homme, très-bien fait, et qu'on regardoit avec plaisir: pour tout vêtement il n'avoit qu'une espèce d'écharpe blanche de soie, qui étoit liée à l'entour de sa ceinture, et qui pendoit jusqu'à mi-jambe, avec une autre écharpe, rouge, de soie, assez large, qu'il avoit sur ses épaules

comme un petit manteau. Je l'avois vu plusieurs fois à Delhi dans cette posture, devant le Roi, dans l'assemblée de tous les Omrahs, et marcher par les rues tantôt à pied tantôt en Palcky.* Je l'avois aussi vu, et j'avois conversé plusieurs fois avec lui, parceque pendant un an il s'étoit toujours trouvé à notre conférence devant mon Agah, à qui il faisoit la cour, afin qu'il lui fît redonner sa pension, qu'Aurengzebe, parvenu à l'empire, lui avoit ôtée, pour paroître grand Musulman. Dans la visite que je lui rendis à Benares, il me fit cent caresses, et me donna même la collation dans la bibliothèque de son Université avec les six plus fameux Pundets de la ville. Quand je me vis en si bonne compagnie, je les priai tous de me dire leurs sentimens sur l'adoration de leurs idoles; car je leur disois que je m'en allois des Indes extrêmement scandalisé de ce côté-là, et leur reprochois que c'étoit une chose contre toute

* Called by the English *Palankeen.*

sorte de raison, et tout-à-fait indigne de gens savans et philosophes comme eux."

"Nous avons véritablement, me dirent-ils, dans nos temples, quantité de statues diverses, comme celle de Brahma, Mahadeu, Genich, et Gavani,* qui sont des principaux et des plus parfaits *Deutas*, et même de quantité d'autres de moindre perfection, auxquelles nous rendons beaucoup d'honneurs; nous nous prosternons devant elles, et leur présentons des fleurs, du riz, des huiles de senteur, du safran et autres choses semblables avec beaucoup de cérémonie: néanmoins, nous ne croyons point que ces statues soient ou Brahma même, ou Béchen † lui-même, et ainsi des autres, mais seulement leurs images et représentations, et nous ne leur rendons ces honneurs qu'à cause de ce qu'elles représentent; elles sont dans nos *Deuras*,‡ afin qu'il y ait quelque chose devant les yeux qui arrête

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* Probably, Bavany. † Vishen, or Vishnu.
‡ Dewuls, or temples.

l'esprit; et quand nous prions, ce n'est pas la statue que nous prions, mais celui qui est représenté par la statue: au reste nous reconnoissons que c'est Dieu qui est le Maître absolu et le seul Tout-puissant."*

M. Ziegenbalg, one of the first missionaries sent by the king of Denmark to Tranquebar,† having asked different Brahmins,

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* Voyages de Bernier, tom. ii. pp. 157—159.

† Tranquebar was granted to the Danes, by the Rajah of Tanjore, in 1621.—The king of Denmark having, in the year 1705, applied to M. Franck, professor of theology at Halle, to recommend persons fit to be sent as missionaries to India; Franck proposed M. Ziegenbalg and M. Plutchau. They sailed from Copenhagen the 29th of November in that year, and arrived at Tranquebar the 9th of July, 1706. M. Plutchau, after a few years residence, returned to Europe and remained there. M. Ziegenbalg visited Europe in 1715; came from Denmark to England, embarked there the 4th of March, 1716, landed at Madras the 9th of August in the same year, and died at Tranquebar the 23d of February, 1719. He translated into the Malabar, or Tamoul language, the whole of the New Testament, and at his death had nearly completed a translation of the Old. He wrote a Malabar grammar, which was printed at

the reason of their not offering worship to the Supreme Being,—they uniformly replied; that God was a Being without shape, incomprehensible, of whom no precise idea could be formed; and that the adoration before idols, being ordained by their religion, God would receive, and consider that, as adoration offered to himself.

He gives some literal translations of passages from their writings:

"The Being of beings is the only God, eternal, and every where present, who *comprises every thing;* there is no God but *He.*"

"O Sovereign of all beings, Lord of the Heavens and the Earth, before whom shall I deplore my wretchedness, if thou abandon me?"*

"God is, as upon a sea without bounds;

Halle; and a dictionary, printed at Tranquebar in 1712, which then contained 20,000 words, and was afterwards augmented.—*See Hist. du Christ. des Indes par la Croze.*

* From a book named Vara-baddu.

those who wish to approach him must appease the agitation of the waves—they must be of a tranquil and steady mind, retired within themselves, and their thoughts being collected, must be fixed on God only."*

In a letter written to M. Ziegenbalg, by a Brahmin, he says, "God may be known by his laws, and wonderful works,—by the reason and understanding he has given to man, and by the creation and preservation of all beings. It is indispensably the duty of man to believe in God, and love him. Our law enjoins this.—Those two principles ought to be in his speech, in his mind; they should guide all his actions, in which being well founded, he should invoke God, and endeavour in every thing to conform himself to his will."

A Hindū having been converted to Christianity by the Danish missionaries, his father wrote to him, "You are yet unac-

* From a book named Tchiva-Vackkium.

quainted with the mysteries of our religion. We do not worship many gods in the extravagant manner you imagine. In all the multitude of images, we adore one Divine essence only. We have amongst us learned men, to whom you should apply, and who will remove all your doubts."*

M. de la Croze, says, on the authority of M. Ziegenbalg and another missionary, M. J. E. Grundler: "In one of their books, they (the Hindūs) express themselves in the following manner: 'The Supreme Being is invisible, incomprehensible, immovable, without figure or shape. No one has ever seen him; time never comprised him; his essence pervades every thing; all was derived from him.'"

Father Bouchet, superior of the Jesuit missionaries, writes to the bishop of Avranches,† from Madura, in the Carnatic:

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* Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, tom. ii. liv. 6.

† The celebrated P. D. Huet, chosen by Bossuet to be preceptor, under him, to the dauphin, eldest son of Louis XIV. As a recompense for his ser-

"The Indians acknowledge one eternal God, infinitely perfect."

"They say, that the great number of divinities which they worship, are only inferior deities, entirely subject to the will

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vices, he obtained the Abbacy of Aunai, and afterwards the bishopric of Soissons, which he changed for that of Avranches. Having vacated this last see, he procured the Abbacy of Fontenay in Normandy, near Caen: thence he retired into what was called *la Maison Professée des Jésuites* at Paris, spending the day in literary pursuits, the evenings in society; and died in 1721, at the age of ninety-one years. All the learned missionaries in eastern countries, seem to have corresponded with him. There is a well executed account of Huet, in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. He left numerous works both in French and Latin. Some of them have been criticised. He is said to have shewn more learning than taste and elegance in his compositions, which in the age of Louis XIV., was not a trifling charge. It was Huet who suggested the publication of the classics *ad usum Delphini*, but on a much more extensive plan than that on which they were executed.

See also Dr. Aikin's translation of Huet's *Commentarii de Rebus ad se pertinentibus*, published at London, 1810, in two vols. 8vo.

of the Supreme Being, who is equally Lord of Gods and men."*

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* Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, 12mo. edit. de Paris, 1781, tom. ii.

In a work published at the protestant mission press at Serampore in Bengal, in 1811, in four vols. 4to. and intituled, "Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindūs, by W. Ward," much minute information in regard to the festivals, forms of worship, customs and practices of the Hindūs, will be found; but it is apprehended that *forms* have too much influence with Mr. Ward, and sometimes lead him to conclusions, which, we believe, no impartial persons, who have inquired into and considered the subject, will admit. Inventions artfully employed to impose on the public in matters of religion, and to excite superstitious and groundless fears in the ignorant, are undoubtedly highly reprehensible, whenever, or by whomsoever they may be practised. Such we must consider many of the practices of the Brahmins of India; but as their orthodox doctrines teach the belief of one God, or Supreme Being only; and as it has been repeatedly declared by the learned Pundits, that their mythology and use of images were only invented, and are employed to represent the different attributes of the divinity, we can, after such solemn declarations, no longer join with Mr. Ward, in representing the whole body of Hindūs, as

"*gross and monstrous idolaters*," than we can join with some too zealous protestants in applying the same epithets to the whole body of Roman Catholics, for having crucifixes, images, and pictures in their churches. The Church of England admits of pictures being placed over the altars, and the members of that church, as well as the Roman Catholics, we presume, will be ready to declare, that nothing more is intended by those outward signs, than to commemorate what may serve to excite devotion in the beholders.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL OPINIONS OF THE HINDŪS, CONTINUED.

In the eleventh, and, unfortunately, last discourse of Sir William Jones, to the Asiatic Society, delivered the 20th of February, 1794, he says:—"The little treatise in four chapters, ascribed to Vyasa, is the only philosophical Sastra, the original text of which I have had leisure to peruse with a Brahmin of the Vedanti school: it is extremely obscure, and though composed in sentences elegantly modulated, has more resemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate summary, than to a regular systematical tract; but all its obscurity has been cleared by the labour of the very judicious and most learned Sancara, whose commentary on the Vedanta, which I read

also with great attention, not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perspicuous account of all other Indian schools, from that of Capila, to those of the more modern heretics. It is not possible, indeed, to speak with too much praise of so excellent a work; and I am confident in asserting, that, until an accurate translation of it shall appear in some European language, the general history of philosophy must remain incomplete; for I perfectly agree with those, who are of opinion, that one correct version of any celebrated Hindū book, would be of greater value than all the dissertations or essays that could be composed on the same subject. You will not, however, expect, that in such a discourse as I am now delivering, I should expatiate on the diversity of Indian philosophical schools, on the several founders of them, on the doctrines which they respectively taught, or on their many disciples, who dissented from their instructors in some particular points. On the present occasion, it will be sufficient to

say, that the oldest head of a sect, whose entire work is preserved, was, according to some authors, Capila; not the divine personage, a reputed grandson of Brahma, to whom Krishna compares himself in the Geeta; but a sage of his name, who invented the Sańhya, or numeral philosophy, which Krishna himself appears to impugn in his conversation with Arjuna; and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few original texts, resembled in part, the metaphysics of Pythagoras, and in part the theology of Zeno: his doctrines were enforced and illustrated, with some additions, by the venerable Patanjali, who has also left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of Panini, which are more obscure, without a gloss, than the darkest oracle: and here by the way let me add, that I refer to metaphysics, the curious and important science of universal grammar, on which many subtle disquisitions may be found interspersed in the particular grammars of the ancient Hindūs.

"The next founder, I believe, of a phi-

losophical school, was Gotama, if, indeed, he was not the most ancient of all; for his wife Ahalya was, according to Indian legends, restored to a human shape by the great Rama; and a sage of his name, whom we have no reason to suppose a different personage, is frequently mentioned in the Veda itself; to *his* rational doctrines, those of Canada were in general conformable; and the philosophy of them both is usually called Nyaya, or logical, a title aptly bestowed; for it seems to be a system of metaphysics and logick, better accommodated than any other anciently known in India, to the natural reason and common sense of mankind; admitting the actual existence of material substance in the popular acceptation of the word *matter*, and comprising not only a body of sublime dialectics, but an artificial method of reasoning, with distinct names for the three parts of a proposition, and even for those of a regular syllogism. Here I cannot refrain from introducing a singular tradition, which prevailed, according to the well-

informed author of the Dabistan, in the Panjab and several Persian provinces, that, among other Indian curiosities, which Callisthenes transmitted to his uncle,* was a

* We presume that Sir William Jones, by *his uncle*, means Aristotle. Callisthenes was born about 365 years before the Christian æra, at Olynthus, in Thrace, a town originally founded by a Grecian colony from Eubæa. His mother, Hero, it appears, was a near relation of Aristotle, but whether a sister, or not, is uncertain. Aristotle sent for him to Athens, where he was educated under his immediate inspection. He carried him, with him, to the court of Macedon, when he went thither as preceptor to Alexander, and left him there. Callisthenes accompanied Alexander in his expedition into the east. Though endowed with talents, he seems to have been proud, intolerant, contradictory, and insolent, even sometimes towards his sovereign. He was accused of having entered into the conspiracy of Hermolaus against Alexander. The guilt of Hermolaus and some other conspirators being proved, they were stoned to death, at the city of Cariata, in Bactria. Callisthenes was afterwards tried and condemned. Some authors have alleged that he was innocent; others have insisted that he was guilty, and especially Arrian, who wrote from the authority of Aristobulus and Ptolemy Lagus, who were present at the time. But it is said that, instead of being put to death by the executioner, he was

technical system of logic, which the Brahmins had communicated to the inquisitive Greek, and which the Mohammedan writer supposes to have been the ground-work of the famous Aristotelian method: if this be true, it is one of the most interesting facts, that I have met with in Asia; and if it be false, it is very extraordinary that such a

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confined in a cage placed on a carriage that followed the army, and that he thus miserably ended his life. Justin pretends, that he died by poison, which at his own request was secretly conveyed to him by Lysimachus. But what appears certain, is, that he was accused of treason and tried, and that his death, in whichever way it happened, was in consequence of his condemnation. But instead of referring the reader to the numerous ancient authors who have mentioned Callisthenes, we recommend to him the perusal of an article on his life and writings, by M. l'Abbé Sevin, in Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 126.

To learned readers, the above, and some other notes, may appear superfluous; but they are inserted with the view of saving the trouble of inquiry to those who may be less informed concerning the subjects mentioned, or who may not possess the opportunity of consulting the authorities referred to.

story should have been fabricated either by the candid Mohsani Fani, or by the simple Parsis Pandits, with whom he had conversed; but, not having had leisure to study the Nyaya Sastra, I can only assure you, that I have frequently seen perfect syllogisms in the philosophical writings of the Brahmins, and have often heard them used in their verbal controversies. Whatever might have been the merit or age of Gotama, yet the most celebrated Indian school is that, with which I began, founded by Vyasa, and supported in most respects by his pupil Jaimini, whose dissent on a few points is mentioned by his master with respectful moderation; their several systems are frequently distinguished by the names of the first and second Mimansa, a word, which, like Nyaya, denotes the operations and conclusions of reason; but the tract of Vyasa has in general the appellation of Vedanta, or the *scope and end of the Veda,* on the texts of which, as they were understood by the philosopher who collected them, his doctrines are principally grounded.

The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school, to which in a more modern age the incomparable Sancara was a firm and illustrious adherent, consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure, (to deny which would be lunacy,) but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion, which Epicharmus* and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little public applause; partly because it has been mis-

* A Pythagorean philosopher and poet, born in Sicily, under the reign of the first Hieron, and the first who there introduced regular dramatic works on the stage. Plato is supposed to have borrowed from his writings.

understood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of God, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness, are the basis of the Indian philosophy. I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Vedanta, which human reason alone, could, perhaps, neither fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest devotion; and the inexpressible difficulty, which any man, who shall make the attempt, will assuredly find, in giving a satisfactory definition of *material substance*, must induce us to deliberate with coolness, before we censure the learned and pious restorer of the ancient Veda; though we cannot but admit, that, if the common opinions of mankind be the criterion of philosophical truth, we must adhere to the system of Gotama, which the Brahmins of this province almost universally follow.

"If the metaphysics of the Vedantis be wild and erroneous, the pupils of Buddha have run, it is asserted, into an error diametrically opposite; for they are charged with denying the existence of pure spirit, and with believing nothing absolutely and really to exist but material substance;—a heavy accusation, which ought only to have been made on positive and incontestable proof, especially by the orthodox Brahmins, who, as Buddha dissented from their ancestors in regard to bloody sacrifices, which the Veda certainly prescribes, may not unjustly be suspected of low and interested malignity. Though I cannot credit the charge, yet I am unable to prove it entirely false, having only read a few pages of a Saugata book; but it begins, like other Hind books, with the word *Om*, which we know to be a symbol of the divine attributes: then follows, indeed, a mysterious hymn to the goddess of Nature, by the name of Arya, but with several other titles, which the Brahmins themselves continually bestow on their Devi: now, the Brahmins,

who have no idea, that any such personage exists as Devi, or the *goddess*, and only mean to express allegorically the power of God, exerted in creating, preserving, and renovating this universe, we cannot with justice infer, that the dissenters admit no deity but *visible nature*: the Pandit who now attends me, and who told Mr. Wilkins, that the Saugatas were atheists, would not have attempted to resist the decisive evidence of the contrary, which appears in the very instrument on which he was consulted, if his understanding had not been blinded by the intolerant zeal of a mercenary priesthood.

"The moralists of the east have in general chosen to deliver their precepts in short, sententious maxims, to illustrate them by sprightly comparisons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apologues. Our divine religion has no need of such aids as many are willing to give it, by asserting, that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims, that *we must act in respect of others,*

as we should wish them to act in respect to ourselves, and that, *instead of returning evil for evil, we should confer benefits even on those who injure us;* but the first rule is implied in a speech of Lysias,* and expressed in distinct phrases by Thales† and Pittacus;‡ and I have even seen it, word for word, in the original of Confucius, which I carefully compared with the Latin translation.—If the conversion therefore of the Pandits, in this country, shall ever be attempted by Protestant missionaries, they must beware of asserting, while they teach the gospel of truth, what those Pandits would know to be false, and who would cite the beautiful Arya couplet, which was written at least

* A native of Syracuse. He was a famous orator and teacher of eloquence at Athens, and flourished in the time of Socrates.

† Of Miletus; he appeared about 640 years before Christ, and should properly be considered as the chief of the Ionian school, though that honour has been given to his disciple Anaximander.

‡ Born at Mitylene, on the island of Lesbos, about 650 years before the Christian æra.

three centuries before our æra, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his destruction, to consist not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting his destroyer, *as the Sandal-tree, in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe, which fells it.*"*

The same learned writer, in an advertisement to a translation of the Hitopadesa, says;—"The Indians, in moral wisdom were certainly eminent: the *Niti Sastra*, or system of ethics, is yet preserved; and the fables of Vishnusarman, whom we ridiculously call *Pilpay*,† are the most beauti-

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* See Asiatic Res. 8vo. edit. vol. iv. p. 177, and the Works of Sir William Jones, 8vo. edit. vol. iii. pp. 242, 243.

† Sir William Jones supposes the mistake to have arisen from a misconception of the Sanscrit word, *bedpai*, "which some ignorant copyist has mistaken for *pilpay*. In Persian, the word *bedpai* means *willow-footed*, which would be nonsense, and *pilpay*, *elephant-footed*, which is not much better; but Cahafi says, that in Sanscrit, the word signifies *beloved*, the beloved, or favourite physician."

ful, if not the most ancient collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the Sanscrit, in the sixth century, by the order of Buzerchumihr, or *bright as the sun*, the chief physician, and afterwards Vizir of the great Anushirevan, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is Hitopadesa, or *amicable instruction*: and, as the very existence of Esop, whom the Arabs believe to have been an Abyssinian, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose, that the first *moral fables*, which appeared in Europe, were of Indian, or Ethiopian origin."*

He continues:—"I have already had occasion to touch on the Indian metaphysics of natural bodies, according to the most celebrated of the Asiatic schools, from which the Pythagoreans are supposed to have borrowed many of their opinions; and, as we learn from Cicero, that the old sages of Europe had an idea of *centripetal*

* Works of Sir William Jones, vol. xiii. p. 2.

force, and a principle of *universal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonstrate); so I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology, and part of his philosophy, may be found in the Vedas, and even in the works of the Sufis; that most subtil spirit, which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to cause attraction and repulsion; the emission, reflection, and refraction of light; electricity, calefaction, sensation, and muscular motion; is described by the Hindūs as a fifth element, endued with those very powers, and the Vedas abound with allusions to a force universally attractive, which they chiefly ascribe to the sun, thence called Aditya, or *the attractor,* a name designed by the mythologists to represent the child of the goddess Aditi; but the most wonderful passage on the theory of attraction occurs in the charming allegorical poem of Shirin and Ferhad, or *the divine spirit,* and *a human soul disin-*

terestedly pious; a work which from the first verse to the last, is a blaze of religious and poetical fire. The whole passage appears to me so curious, that I make no apology for giving you a faithful translation of it:—'There is a strong propensity, which dances through every atom, and attracts the minutest particle to some peculiar object; search this universe from its base to its summit, from fire to air, from water to earth, from all below the moon, to all above the celestial spheres, and thou wilt not find a corpuscle destitute of that natural attractibility; the very point of the first thread, in this apparently tangled skein, is no other than such a principle of attraction, and all principles beside are void of a real basis; from such a propensity arises every motion perceived in heavenly, or in terrestrial bodies; it is a disposition to be attracted, which taught hard steel to rush from its place and rivet itself on the magnet; it is the same disposition, which impels the light straw to attach itself firmly on amber; it is this quality, which gives every sub-

stance in nature a tendency toward another, and an inclination forcibly directed to a determined point.' These notions are vague, indeed, and unsatisfactory; but permit me to ask, whether the last paragraph of Newton's incomparable work goes much farther, and whether any subsequent experiments have thrown light on a subject so abstruse and obscure."

In an article entitled, *On the Literature of the Hindūs*, translated from the Sanscrit by Sir William Jones, to whom it was communicated by Goverdhan Caul,* it is said: "There are eighteen Vidyas, or parts of true knowledge, and some branches of knowledge falsely so called; of both which a short account shall here be exhibited.

"The first four are the immortal Vedas, evidently revealed by God; which are entitled, in one compound word, Rigyajuhsamat'harva, or, in separate words, Rich, Yajush, Saman, and At'harvan: the Rigveda consists of five sections; the Yajur-

* See Works of Sir Wm. Jones, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 93.

veda, of eighty-six; the Samaveda, of a thousand; and the At'harvaveda, of nine; with eleven hundred s'ac'ha's, or branches, in various divisions and subdivisions. The Vedas in truth are infinite; but were reduced by Vyasa, to this number and order: the principal part of them is that, which explains the duties of man in a methodical arrangement; and in the fourth, is a system of divine ordinances.

"From these are deduced the four Upavedas, namely, Ayush, Gandharva, Dhanush, and Sthapatya; the first of which, or Ayurveda, was delivered to mankind by Brahma, Indra, Dhanwantari, and five other deities; and comprises the theory of disorders and medicines, with the practical methods of curing diseases. The second, or music, was invented and explained by Bharata: it is chiefly useful in raising the mind by devotion, to the felicity of the divine nature. The third Upaveda, was composed by Viswamitra, on the fabrication and use of arms and implements

handled in war, by the tribe of Cshatriyas.* Viswacarman revealed the fourth, in various treatises on sixty-four mechanical arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them.

"Six Angas, or bodies of learning, are also derived from the same source: their names are, Sicsha, Calpa, Vyacarana, Ch'handas, Jyotish, and Niructi. The first was written by Panini, an inspired saint, on the pronunciation of vocal sounds; the second, contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the first to the last; and from the branches of these works a variety of rules have been framed by Aswalayana, and others: the third, or the grammar, entitled Paniniya, consisting of eight lectures, or chapters, was the production of three Rishis, or holy-men, and teaches the proper discriminations of words in construction; but other less abstruse grammars, compiled merely for popular use, are not consi-

* Military cast.

dered as Angas: the fourth, or Prosody, was taught by a Muni, named Pingala, and treats of charms and incantations in verses aptly framed and variously measured; such as the Gayatri, and a thousand others. Astronomy is the fifth of the Vedangas, as it was delivered by Surya, and other divine persons: it is necessary in calculations of time. The sixth, or Niructi, was composed by Yasca,* on the signification of difficult words and phrases in the Vedas.

" Lastly, there are four Upangas, called Purana, Nyaya, Mimansa, and Dherma sastra. Eighteen Puranas, that of Brahma, and the rest, were composed by Vyasa for the instruction and entertainment of mankind in general. Nyaya is derived from the root *ni*, to acquire, or apprehend; and, in this sense, the books on apprehension, reasoning, and judgment, are called Nyaya: the principal of these are the work of Gautama, in five chapters, and that of Ca-

* "So is the manuscript; but perhaps it should be Vyasa."

nada, in ten; both teaching the meaning of sacred texts, the difference between just and unjust, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under twenty-three heads. Mimansa is also twofold; both shewing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be desired or avoided, and by what means the soul may ascend to the *First Principle:* the former, or Carma Mimansa, comprised in twelve chapters, was written by Jaimini, and discusses questions of moral duties and law; next follows the Upasana Canda in four lectures, containing a survey of religious duties; to which part belong the rules of Sandilya, and others, on devotion and duty to God. Such are the contents of the Purva, or former Mimansa. The Uttara, or latter, abounding in questions on the Divine Nature and other sublime speculations, was composed by Vyasa, in four chapters and sixteen sections: it may be considered as the brain and spring of all the Angas; it exposes the heretical opinions of Ramanuja, Madhwa, Vallabha, and other so-

phists; and, in a manner suited to the comprehension of adepts, it treats on the true nature of Ganesa, Bhascara, or the sun, Nilacanta, Lacshmi, and other forms of One Divine Being. A similar work was written by Sri Sancara, demonstrating the supreme power, goodness, and eternity of God.

"The body of law, called Smriti, consists of eighteen books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of religion, the administration of justice, and the punishment, or expiation of crimes; they were delivered, for the instruction of the human species, by Menu and other sacred personages.

"As to ethics, the Vedas contain all that relates to the duties of kings; the Puranas, what belongs to the relation of husband and wife; and the duties of friendship and society are taught succinctly in both: this double division of Angas and Upangas may be considered as denoting the double benefit arising from them in theory and practice.

"The Bharata and Ramayana, which are both epick poems, comprise the most valuable part of ancient history.

"For the information of the lower classes in religious knowledge, the Pasupata, the Pancharatra, and other works, fit for nightly meditation, were composed by Siva, and others, in an hundred and ninety-two parts on different subjects.

"What follow are not really divine. Sanchya is two-fold, that with Iswara, and that without Iswara: the former is entitled Patanjala, in one chapter of four sections, and is useful in removing doubts by pious contemplation; the second, or Çapila, is in six chapters on the production of all things by the union of Pracriti, or Nature, and Purusha, or the first male: it comprises also, in eight parts, rules for devotion, thoughts on the invisible power, and other topics. Both these works contain a studied and accurate enumeration of natural bodies and their principles; whence this philosophy is named Sanchya. Others

hold, that it was so called from its reckoning three sorts of pain.

"The Mimansa is in two parts, the Nyaya in two, and the Sanchya in two; and these six schools comprehend all the doctrine of the Theists.

"Last of all appears a work written by Buddha; and there are also six Atheistical systems of philosophy, entitled Yogachara, Saudhanta, Vaibhashica, Madhyamica, Digambara, and Charvac; all full of indeterminate phrases, errors in sense, confusion between distinct qualities, incomprehensible notions, opinions not duly weighed, tenets destructive of natural equality, containing a mixture of atheism and ethics, distributed into a number of sections, which omit what ought to be expressed, and express what ought to be omitted; abounding in false propositions, idle propositions, impertinent propositions: some assert, that the heterodox schools have no Upangas; others, that they have six Angas, and as many Sangas, or bodies, and other appendices.

"Such is the analysis of *universal knowledge*, practical and speculative."

In a short commentary, by Sir William Jones, on the above list of Goverdan Caul, it is said: "The books on divine knowledge, called Veda, or what is *known*, and Sruti, or what has been *heard*, are still supposed to be very numerous; and the four here mentioned are thought to have been selected, as containing all the information necessary for man. Mohsani Fani, the very candid and ingenious author of the Dabistan, describes in his first chapter a race of old Persian sages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been Hindūs; and we cannot doubt, that the book of Mahabad, or Menu, which was written, he says, *in a celestial dialect*, means the Veda; so that, as Zeratusht* was only a reformer, we find in India the true source of the ancient Persian religion. To this head belong the numerous Tantra, Mantra,

* Zoroaster.

Agama, and Nigama, Sastras, which consist of incantations and other texts of the Vedas, with remarks on the occasions on which they may be successfully applied. It must not be omitted, that the commentaries on the Hindū Scriptures, among which that of Vasishtha seems to be reputed the most excellent, are innumerable."

"From the Vedas are immediately deduced the practical arts of Chirurgery and Medicine, Music and Dancing, Archery, which comprises the whole art of war, and Architecture, under which the system of mechanical arts is included."

"Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans from the various medical books in Sanscrit, which contain the names and descriptions of Indian plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders: there is a vast collection of them from the Cheraca, which is considered as a work of Siva; the Roganirupana and the Nidana are comparatively modern."

"A number of books, in prose and verse, have been written on music, with specimens of Hindū airs in a very elegant notation; but the Silpa Sastra, or *body of treatises on mechanical arts,* is believed to be lost."

"The grammatical work of Panini, a writer supposed to have been inspired, is entitled Siddhanta Caumudi, and is so abstruse, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly understood. When Casinatha Serman, who attended Mr. Wilkins, was asked what he thought of the Paniniya, he answered very expressively, that *it was a forest;* but, since grammar is only an instrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably some acute speculations in metaphysics."

"The Sanscrit prosody is easy and beautiful; the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the Greeks; and it is remarkable, that the language of the Brah-

mins runs very naturally into sapphics, alcaics, and iambics.

"Astronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: seventy-nine of them are specified in one list; and, if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in India, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in science, and what certainty attained in ancient chronology?"

"The first Indian poet," we are acquainted with, "was Valmici, author of the Ramayana,* a complete epic poem on one continued, interesting, and heroic action; and the next in celebrity, if it be not superior in reputation for holiness, was the Mahabharata of Vyasa: to him are ascribed the sacred Puranas, which are called, for their excellence, *the Eighteen*, and which have the following titles: Brahme, or the *Great One*; Pedma, or the *Lotos*; Brahmanda, or the *Mundane Egg*; and

* More frequently called the Ramayuna.

Agni, or *Fire;* (these four relate to the Creation): Vishnu, or the *Pervader;* Garuda, or his *Eagle,* the transformations of Brahma, Siva, Linga, Nareda, son of Brahma, Scanda, son of Siva, Marcandeya, or the Immortal Man, and Bhawishya, or the *Prediction of Futurity,* and four others, Matsya, Varaha, Curma, Vamena, or as many incarnations of the Great One in his character of *Preserver;* all containing ancient traditions embellished by poetry, or disguised by fable: the eighteenth is the Bhagawata, or Life of Krishna, with which the same poet is by some imagined to have crowned the whole series; though others, with more reason, assign them different composers."

"The system of Hindū law, besides the fine work, called Menusmriti, or *what is remembered from Menu,* that of Yajnyawalcya, and those of sixteen other Muni's, with commentaries on them all, consists of many tracts in high estimation: among those current in Bengal, are, an excellent treatise on *Inheritances,* by Jimuta

Vahana, and a complete digest, in twenty-seven volumes, compiled a few centuries ago, by Raghunandan, the Tribonian of India, whose work is the grand repository of all that can be known on a subject so curious in itself, and so interesting to the British government.

"Of the philosophical schools it will be sufficient here to remark, that the first Nyaya seems analogous to the Peripatetic; the second, sometimes called Vaiseshica, to the Ionic; the two Mimansas, of which the second is often distinguished by the name of Vedanta, to the Platonic; the first Sanchya to the Italic; and the second, or Patanjala, to the Stoic, philosophy: so that Gautama corresponds with Aristotle; Canada, with Thales; Jaimini, with Socrates; Vyasa, with Plato; Capila, with Pythagoras; Patanjali, with Zeno; but an accurate comparison between the Grecian and Indian schools would require a considerable volume. The original works of those philosophers are very succinct; but, like all the other Sastras, they are explained, or obscured, by the Upa-

dersana, or commentaries, without end: one of the finest compositions on the philosophy of the Vedanta is entitled Yoga Vasishtha, and contains the instructions of the great Vasishtha to his pupil, Ráma, king of Ayodhya."

"The Sudras, or fourth class of Hindûs, are not permitted to study the six proper Sastras before enumerated; but an ample field remains for them in the study of profane literature, comprised in a multitude of popular books, which correspond with the several Sastras, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on medicine, must, indeed, be studied by the Vaidyas, or those who are born physicians;* and they have often more learning, with far less pride, than any of the Brahmins: they are usually poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, moralists; and may be esteemed in general the most virtuous and amiable of

* As every profession and trade in India, belongs to, or is in the possession of distinct classes, the expression, *who are born physicians*, means, merely, to say, who are of the class that exclusively professes the study and practice of physic.

the Hindūs. Instead of the Vedas they study the Rajaniti, or *Instruction of Princes*, and instead of law, the Nitisastra, or general system of ethics: their Sahitia, or Cavya Sastra, consists of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the medical tribe, and supplying the place of the Puranas, since they contain all the stories of the Ramayana, Bharata, and Bhagawata: they have access to many treatises of Alancara, or Rhetorick, with a variety of works in modulated prose; to Upachyana, or Civil History, called also Rajatarangini; to the Nataca, which answers to the Gandharvaveda, consisting of regular dramatic pieces, in Sanscrit and Pracrit; besides which they commonly get by heart some entire dictionary and grammar.

"The best lexicon, or vocabulary, was composed in verse, for the assistance of the memory, by the illustrious Amarasinha; but there are seventeen others in great repute: the best grammar is the Mugdhabodha, or the *beauty of knowledge*, written by Goswami, named Vopadeva, and com-

prehending, in two hundred short pages, all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know. To the Coshas, or dictionaries, are usually annexed very ample Ticas, or etymological commentaries."

"Wherever we direct our attention to Hindū literature, the notion of *infinity* presents itself; and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the Puranas, with a million more, perhaps, in the other works before mentioned: we may, however, select the best from each Sastra, and gather the fruits of science, without loading ourselves with the leaves and branches; while we have the pleasure to find, that the learned Hindūs, encouraged by the mildness of our government and manners, are at least as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds, as we can be to receive it. Since Europeans are indebted to the Dutch for almost all they know of Arabic, and to the French for all they know of Chinese, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate know-

ledge of Sanscrit, and of the valuable works composed in it; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of Indian religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the Gita."*

In an appendix to an allegorical drama translated from the Sanscrit by Dr. J. Taylor,† he particularly distinguishes the two systems or schools of Hindū philosophy, known by the names of Vedanta and Nyaya. The latter, he observes, as Sir William Jones had previously remarked, bears a strong analogy with the doctrines of Aristotle, both with regard to his philosophic opinions and his principles of logic; and in the preceding quotations from Sir William Jones, the reader will have observed, that a tradition prevails in the East, of the

* By Mr. (now Dr.) Charles Wilkins.

† Intituled Prabodh Chandro Daya, or the *Moon of Intellect;* which I venture to recommend to the attention of the reader, together with the learned translator's introduction and appendix to it.

Brahmins having communicated a technical system of logic to Callisthenes, which was transmitted by him to Aristotle, *and which the Mohammedan author of the Dabistan supposes to have been the ground-work of the famous Aristotelian method.** Both the Vedanta and Nyaya philosophers as far as our knowledge extends, seem to make the great scope of sound philosophy to consist in the practice of virtue; in being guided in our actions by the dictates of reason, of that faculty which enables us to distinguish truth from falsehood, and what may be proper or unfit in our desires and affections: without entering into all the different expositions and divisions of the same subject, by Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and other ancient sages, such, in reality, is the result of their arguments on moral philosophy. Like Aristotle, the Nyaya philosophers make the operation of reason in regard to action, to consist in observing a just medium between extremes; thus,

* See p. 221.

fortitude consists in the medium between cowardice and presumptuous rashness; a becoming and useful economy, in the medium between avarice and profusion; and all agree in inculcating sobriety, and extreme temperance in the gratification of sensual appetites, as indispensable for the practice of virtue and attainment of happiness.

The Vedanta and Nyaya philosophers, like those of Greece above mentioned, acknowledge a supreme eternal Being, and the immortality of the soul; though, like the Greeks they differ in their ideas of those subjects. The Indian philosophers speak of the Supreme Being as an eternal essence that pervades space, and gives life or existence. What we understand by nature, in their mythology is personified, and frequently and beautifully introduced into their poetry under the name of Maia, and Prakrali.* Action in Maia, is supposed to

* We conceive the two names to be nearly synonymous.

be produced by the effect of the supreme pervading essence. It is said, figuratively, that the Supreme Being commanded Maia by a nod, who then spread out the universe.* But after this simple exposition given by the Vedanti of their notions of the Supreme Being, as a universal and eternal pervading spirit, in their books they suppose four modifications of it: 1. Brimh; 2. Kutasth; 3. Jiv; 4. Eesh; and they are compared to four modes of existence of ether: 1, as it appears clear and limpid in the vault of heaven; 2, as it is confined in a vessel or any given space; 3, as the sky is reflected in water; 4, as it is obscured by clouds. But as these different states or modifications do not change its nature, and as it would be erroneous to ascribe to each of them a distinct essence, so it is equally erroneous, say they, to imagine that the various modifications by which the all-pervading Being exists, or displays its power, are individual existences.

* See the drama and appendix above referred to.

Creation is not considered as the instant production of things, but only as the manifestation of that which exists eternally in the one universal Being.* And in another place: "They who are ignorant of the undivided Being, Brimh, the principle, the impassible one, dispute concerning Jiv and Eesh, the soul and divine spirit; but when this delusion is dispersed, all these distinctions vanish, and there exists only one quiescent spirit."†

The Vedantas consider the occupations of life, or, according to Dr. Taylor, of *action*, as retaining the soul "in the prison of passion and affection;" but whilst a person continues to perform the common acts of life, it is incumbent on him, say they, to attend to religious duties and rites. It also has been found expedient to modify the doctrine in such a manner, as to reconcile it with the occupations and acts on which the existence of society depends:

* Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.
† Ibid.

and they accordingly observe, that renunciation of the world does not require that a person should cease from the acts and duties of life, but only that he preserve his mind in a state of perfect indifference and tranquillity.*

The Nyaya schools, with all their various derivatives, admit the authority of the Vedas, or sacred writings: but the Vedanti strictly adhere to them, and announce their doctrines in an authoritative style, as things not to be reasoned on, but believed.† The Nyaya philosophy on the contrary abounds with abstruse metaphysical reasoning. "It contains two sects, which were founded by two celebrated teachers, Gautam and Kanad. The sect of Gautam is the most ancient, and those who adhere to it are by way of eminence named Nyayaicks, and their philosophy, Nyayai; the followers of Kanad are frequently named

* Appendix, above quoted.

† It may be superfluous to observe that the name Vedanta is derived from Ved.

Veisheshiks, and their system Tarkeek. Gautam is a distinguished character, not only in India proper, but also in the countries to the eastward of the Ganges;* where he has been raised to the rank of a divinity, and is worshipped under a variety of names, which, however, are all easily traced to the primitive word. There is little distinction, if, indeed, any, between the systems of Gautam and Kanad, except in the number of orders into which they have divided the different classes of being. It is not requisite to name those classes, to enumerate the accidents and logical divisions of the system, or to notice the arrangement of syllogisms, which, perhaps, is not less perfect than that of the Greek logician.

"The Nyayaicks (under which term I include the followers both of Gautam and Kanad) believe that spirit and matter are eternal; the former, enjoying life and

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* That is, in India *intra Gangem*, or the countries between the Indus and the Ganges, and India *extra Gangem*, or the countries beyond the Ganges.

thought, the other inert and lifeless, and moving only as it is impelled by spirit. They do not, however, suppose that the world in its present form has existed from eternity, but only the primary matter from which it sprang when operated on by the almighty hand of God. Hence in its atomical condition, it is eternal; in the second, or figured state, perishable."

"The combinations, or aggregations, which compose the material universe, are produced by the energy of an Almighty and intelligent cause, who is considered the Supreme Being. Matter is incapable of action, whence it is evident that the motions of material objects are caused by a being different from those objects. Thus the author of the Múktawalli in delivering the opinions of the Nyayaicks, says: *Though we have in ourselves the consciousness that I am, I feel pleasure, &c., yet we have no evident knowledge that spirit and matter are different; but this is proved by the following argument:—An instrument requires an operator; thus, without an operator no effect could*

*result from cutting instruments, as an axe; in like manner, without an operator, no effect would result from the eyes, which are the instruments of vision, hence we infer the existence of an operative Being."**

Though the Nyayaicks believe that the soul is an emanation from the Supreme Being, they distinguish it in its individual existence from that Being; and observe that in its confined state, and united with matter, it is subject to error, and liable to become the slave of passion, and to effects produced by things not originally in the mind, but external. That the Supreme Spirit, or Being, is eternally blessed and perfect.

Truth and intelligence are the eternal attributes of God, not of the individual soul, which is susceptible both of knowledge and ignorance, of pleasure and pain: therefore, God and the individual soul are distinct; if you deny this, how can you account for the soul being confined to material habitations, and again released from them?

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* Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.

"While embodied in matter, the soul is in a state of imprisonment, and is under the influence of evil passions; but, having by intense study arrived at the knowledge of the natural elements and principles, it attains the place of the Eternal. In this state of supreme bliss, however, its individuality does not cease; but on this point they express themselves very obscurely. They admit that the soul is united to the Supreme Being, but conceive that it still retains the abstract nature of definite or visible existence."* But it seems necessary to know exactly whether the word *united* be synonymous with, or understood to mean *absorbed*, which we also find sometimes employed in treating of the same subject. We are disposed to think that the English word "absorbed" is erroneously used, and that the word "united" is only meant in a general sense, as being united with one's family or friends.

On the author asking learned Hindūs,

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* Appendix, above quoted.

how, in admitting the souls of mankind to be emanations of the Supreme Being, they accounted for the inertness of infancy, for the mental qualities only unfolding themselves and acquiring force progressively with the growth of the body? How they accounted also for the difference that appears in those qualities in individuals? How they explained the numerous examples to be given, of persons possessing the greatest powers of thought, the most extensive knowledge, the most capacious and retentive memories, being at once deprived of all these by sudden fear, or by some bodily accident? How they accounted for the decline of memory and judgment by age? They severally made no satisfactory answer. To such questions, indeed, no satisfactory answer can ever be made: it has pleased the Creator to set bounds to the scope of human reason, beyond which it cannot reach. We may have a consciousness of things, without being able to explain the causes that produce them.

"The dissolution of the world consists in the destruction of the visible forms and qualities of things, but their material essence remains, and from it new worlds are formed by the creative energy of God; and thus the universe is dissolved and renewed in endless succession."*

"I think we may infer that the philosophy of the followers of the Vedanta school, is founded on the contemplation of one infinite Being, existing under two states, or modifications. The first, that of a pure, simple, abstract essence, immovable and quiescent; the second, that of being displaying motion or active qualities. Under the first modification he is named Brimh, or *the Great Being*, and Kútasth, or *He who sitteth on high;* under the second he is named Eesh, *the Lord,* and Jiv, *the soul;* or to adapt this explanation to the division already given of these modifications, and to the example by which they were illustrated, we should say that Brimh, is Being

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* Appendix, above quoted.

in its state of simple essence; Eesh, is Being exerting energy, and causing the phenomena of the material universe; Kútasth, is Being existing in sensitive creatures in its pure, simple state; and Jiv, is Being in a sentient active state. But, perhaps, it would be more agreeable to the etymology of the words, to call Eesh the principle of energy or power, and Jiv the principle of sensation. Every thing rests on Brimh or Being; but to him is more immediately referred Eesh, or power; and to Kútasth is referred Jiv, or sensation. In common books and language these terms denote separate individual beings; and also in some philosophical systems, Brimh, or Being, and Jiv, that which feels, are considered distinct and different beings; but the Vedantas deny a plurality of beings, and assert that the visible phenomena and sensation, are only accidents of one Infinite Being, though, in order to be understood, they speak of them as distinct existences; hence then it appears that the Vedanta philosophy is distinguished from all the

other systems, by teaching that *the universe consists of one undivided indivisible Being, and motion.** Motion includes energy and sensation; energy includes the material world; and sensation includes the moral faculties, and corporeal feelings, as pleasure and pain. This explanation of the distinctions which are constantly recurring in the Vedanta books, and on which the system is grounded, receives no inconsiderable degree of support from the following passage in the Panchdashi: *Eshwar, or the Lord, is the principle of happiness; Jiv, or the vital soul, is the principle of consciousness; this distinction is caused by Maia, and these* two modes of spirit *comprehend the universe. The creation from the beginning to the consummation of all things, proceeds from Eesh, or the Lord; life, from the time of awaking until it cease in the Infinite Being, proceeds from Jiv, or the soul.*"

"The reason assigned for attending to

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* In the work quoted, as translated by Dr. Taylor, it is said, *Kutasth and Brimh are different only in name.*

these distinctions, also corroborates the explanation we have offered. It is not to point out different substances, or beings, but to conduct the mind to the knowledge of that one and all-pervading essence, in which the modifications exist, from which result the distinctions we observe. Unless the nature of these distinctions were understood, the soul must remain ignorant of its own nature, and continue for ever under the delusion that it is a sensitive, finite, individual being; but when by investigating these distinctions, it comprehends the modifications from which they arise, the delusion is dispelled, and it knows itself to be one, *infinite and eternal.*"*

It is, however, indubitable, that some of the Hindū philosophers consider the *vital soul,* as separate and distinct from what they understand by the great universal soul. By this they account for the memory, and apparent intelligence possessed in different degrees by the brute creation, while others account for these by their

* Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.

system of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

"According to Hindū metaphysics, whatever is the subject of active and moral qualities must have magnitude, for these qualities imply action and change; but what is absolutely without magnitude and figure must be impassible and unchangeable; hence, as the Nyayaicks maintain that the Supreme Being is the immediate agent in the creation of the world, and that perception, desire, and action, are in him permanent qualities, they ascribe to him a principle of invisible magnitude."

"A sect named Sankhya, was founded by a philosopher named Kapila.* It has been noticed by some English writers as advancing the doctrine of materialism; but the Sankhyas believe in the existence of two eternal substances, or beings, the one named Púrúsh, or male, the other Prakrali, or nature. They conceive that Púrúsh, or the male, exists in an eternal state of rest, impassible, and a mere spectator of

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* Or Capila.

the motions of the universe. This state of the Supreme Being they illustrate, by saying that he resembles the water-lily, which after the water passes over it, is left in its original condition. The motions of the material world, and also sentient beings, proceed from Prakrali, or nature. The argument by which this opinion is supported is not very clear, or, perhaps, I may not have been able to comprehend it."*

The Mimangsa doctrines were originally taught "by Jaimini. Kumaril Bhat and Prabhakar, who are mentioned in the play,† were two of his most eminent disciples. There are two divisions of this sect; one named Purva, or former, the other named Uttar, or latter Mimangsa. The Púrva Mimangsa say, that motion is the only being, and that it has existed from eternity, and will exist for ever, producing and maintaining all the phenomena which compose the universe. There is neither

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* Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.
† Ibid.

creation nor dissolution, the world has existed always in the same visible form which it now exhibits. Jaimini seemed to deny the existence of Paramatma, or the supreme soul, and to admit only that of Jiv Atma, or vital soul; for which reason he was charged with atheism; and in the play we find one of his pupils asking if there be any other being besides those visible beings whom we behold. This tenet, however, was rejected by others of the sect, and accordingly, Kumaril, in reply to the above question, says, that there is a being distinct from the universe, who is the judge of actions, and the dispenser of rewards and punishments."

In the Ayeen Akbery, we are informed, that Buddha,* was son of a Rajah of the province of Magadha, now called Bahar; that his mother was named Maia, that he was born 2962 years before the period at which the author wrote, which was in the

* Buddha is one of the names of the Hindū deity that corresponds with the god Mercury.

40th year of the reign of Akber; consequently he must have been born 3179 years ago, or 1364 years before the Christian æra.*

The result of our inquiries shews, that though Buddha denied the Vedas to be of divine origin, and rejected some of the doctrines contained in them, he adhered to others; amongst these, he professed a belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, and in the transmigration of souls. He also preserved a considerable part of the Brahminical mythology. He seems to have wished to reform religion, as then practised, not to subvert it. The followers of Buddha dissent from the Brahminical doctrines in two points, namely, in rejecting the history of the creation and destruction of this world; in believing it to be eternal, and in not admitting the division of mankind into casts. This may account

* Akber was born in the year of Christ 1542, and proclaimed Emperor in 1556; the 40th year of his reign, consequently, was 1596 of our æra.

for not finding the division into casts to exist in the *Indo-Chinese* nations, or countries lying between India and China, in which it appears the tenets of Buddha have been almost universally introduced.* Buddha was the first, it appears, who opposed human sacrifices, or even bloody sacrifices of any kind; and it is, perhaps, owing to his exertions that the former were entirely abolished, and that the latter are very rarely practised.

A supposition has lately been advanced, that the tenets of Buddha were professed, and prevailed, previously to those of the Brahmins; but the arguments, employed against that opinion, prove, we think, in a way perfectly satisfactory, that the Buddhaists are to be considered merely as seceders from the Brahminical faith, many of whose tenets they preserve, in the same manner as is practised by the sectaries of other religions.†

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* See pp. 225, 226.

† See Asiat. Researches, 8vo. vol. ix. p. 293, article by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke.

With respect to the hatred borne by the Brahmins to the Buddhaists, alluded to by Sir William Jones, and the animosity and enthusiasm, which we must also suppose to exist in their opponents, we may apply an observation made by General Malcolm, on another sect:—"There is no part of oriental biography, in which it is more difficult to separate truth from falsehood, than that which relates to the history of religious impostors. The account of their lives is generally recorded, either by devoted disciples and warm adherents, or by violent enemies and bigotted persecutors. The former, from enthusiastic admiration, decorate them with every quality and accomplishment that can adorn men; the latter, with equal enthusiasm and aversion, misrepresent their characters, and detract from all their merits and pretensions."*

Another sect, called the Jainas, or Jains, now exists, chiefly in Mysore, Canara, and Guzerat. Having adopted some of the tenets of Buddha, they were for some time,

* Sketch of the Sikhs, As. Res. vol. xi.

by strangers, confounded with the Buddhaists. Different, however, from them, they observe the division of the people into four casts, consisting as with the Hindūs, of the Brahmin, the Cshatriya, the Vaisya, and Sudra:* but, on the other hand, they agree with the Buddhaists, in denying the sacred origin of the Vedas, and at the same time in observing many of the doctrines contained in them.

They condemn the practice of sacrifices, and some other ceremonies which the followers of the Vedas perform, holding it absurd to expect to obtain thereby any good effects, either in this world, or in a future state. They are said to admit of no opinions, but such as are founded on perception, or established by irrefragable testimony; they say: "A wise man will only believe what he seeth with his own eyes;" hence they might be considered as atheists: but notwithstanding this maxim, which must be taken in a limited sense, and as regarding miracles, we find a positive de-

* See Note B, in the Appendix.

claration of their belief in a Supreme Being, in a future state of rewards and punishments, and in the doctrine of transmigration. Every animal, they say, from the highest of the species down to the meanest insect, has existed from all eternity, and will continue to do so, though it may undergo changes from a higher to a lower rank, or from a lower to a higher.

They say, that the ancient religion of India, and of the whole world, consisted in the belief of one God, a pure spirit, indivisible, omniscient, and all-powerful: that God having given to all things their appointed order and course of action, and to man a sufficient portion of reason, or understanding, to guide him in his conduct; he leaves him to the operation of free will, without the entire exercise of which, he could not be held answerable for his actions.*

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* See Historical Sketches of the South of India, by Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wilks. Mr. Wilks quotes, as his authority, a learned Jain Brahmin, named Dhermia, and the Pere Dubois, "a worthy and in-

Their Brahmins, like the other Hindūs, are a sacred tribe, and divided into different classes, each class having its special functions and mode of life.*

The Jainas, equally with the Buddhaists, do not believe in the account given of the creation and universal deluge. They consider the world as eternal, and say that the changes it has undergone, or may undergo, proceed from natural causes; that those changes are only partial, but that the system of the universe, of which this world is a part, is eternally preserved by immutable laws, that have ever existed and must ever continue.

In their temples they have images of *Gurus*, or holy and wise men, whom they are taught to respect; but they hold it as absurd to pretend to represent by any effigy, or image, a being, who, they say, "is all wise; all seeing; the father, or origin

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telligent missionary, (says he) who has lived seventeen years among the Hindūs, as one of themselves."

* See note B, in Appendix.

of all; enjoying eternal bliss; without beginning or end, without name, infinite, and indescribable."

The Vedas allow to almost all, except the Brahmins, the frugal use of certain animal food, but the Jains, without distinction, are expressly prohibited from it, as well as from the use of spirituous liquors; nor is it lawful for any one to kill an animal of any kind, except the Cshatriya cast, when engaged in wâr. Self-defence is unquestionably to be allowed, but unnecessarily to deprive any being of life, is regarded as acting in opposition to him by whose will it has existence.

They do not permit the widow to burn herself with the corpse of her husband, but she is forbidden to marry again; nor can she after his death use, or possess any personal ornament.

The only obsequies observed by them, are, burning the body, and throwing the ashes into water, but by preference into rivers, should a facility of doing it present itself.

They suppose two souls, which may be termed the *divine* soul, and the *vital* soul. The former is a pure spirit; the other, more immediately united with our corporal substance, and possessing desires and affections: but we do not find that they consider the divine soul as an emanation of the Supreme Being, as almost all other Hindūs do.

In addition to what has already been stated,* the following passage from Dr. Taylor's work above cited,† will still further illustrate the tenets of this sect.

"The Jainas, in their philosophical opinions, have been supposed to resemble the Sankhyas; but their tenets exhibit rather a mixture of the Sankhya and

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* Besides the authorities before quoted, see an article on the Jains, by Major Mackenzie, Asiat. Researches, vol. ix. p. 244; one by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, ibid. p. 287;—and "Journey from Madras, through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, performed by order of the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General of India, by Francis Buchanan, M. D."

† See Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.

Mimangsa doctrines, than an exclusive adoption of either. Like the Mimangsa, they believe that the Supreme Being is motion, and that he is without figure, impassible, and all-pervading; and like the Sankhyas they believe in the eternity of the world, and conceive that the soul is only a refined species of matter, which possesses thought and understanding; and which, pervading the whole body, illuminates it as a lamp does the apartment in which it is kept. Wherever there is blood, say they, there is soul. As the infinite Being is indescribable and incomprehensible, they direct their worship to Tirthakars, or deified men. The great Being is omniscient, but the soul possesses only finite knowledge. Man is elevated to the state of the infinite Being, by renouncing secular concerns, and devoting himself to contemplation and divine worship; but, like the Mimangsa, they conceive that holy actions are required to secure eternal beatitude."

But after examining all that is said in

regard to the nature and existence of the soul, it appears to us, notwithstanding the obscurity of the subject, and seeming contradictions that occur, that the Hindūs in general believe in the existence of two souls, the *vital* and the *divine* soul; the former of which animates the mortal frame, and may be supposed to perish with it; while the other is an emanation of the spirit of God,—but not a portion of that spirit; it is compared to the heat and light sent forth from the sun, which neither lessens nor divides its own essence.*

The tenets and practices of the Sikhs will form the subject of a separate chapter.

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* See Laws of Menu, chapter 9th, on *Transmigration* and Final Beatitude, Jones, 8vo. edit. vol. viii. as well as other works; and various quotations of Gowtama, &c. in Craufurd's Sketches on the Hindūs, vol. i. p. 262.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE SIKHS.

The Sikhs,* of much more modern origin than all the other sects we have mentioned, now occupy a considerable, and, from its situation, important territory in Hindūstan.† The founder of their religion, named Nanac

* The Sikhs derive their appellation from the Sanscrit root Sikh, *to learn.*

† Hindūstan, in the general acceptation of the word by Europeans, is supposed to mean the whole countries lying between the Indus and the Ganges, from the Tartarian mountains, on the north, to the sea, where the land terminates in the point named Cape Comorin: but Hindūstan *proper*, or the country originally so denominated by the Persians, meaning the country of the Hindūs, extends no farther south, as has been observed, than the river Nerbudda, or to the parallel of about twenty-two degrees north latitude.—*See Rennell.*

Shah, was born in the year 1469 of our æra, at a village named Talvandi,* in the district of Bhatti, in the province of Lahore. His father, named Calu, was of the Cshatriya, or warrior cast. He left only two children, Nanac, and a daughter, called Nanaii, who married a Hindū named Jayaram. Nanac was also married at an early age to a young maiden of his own tribe, by whom he had two sons, named Srichand and Lacshmi Das. He is said to have been, from his infancy, of a religious turn; and many stories are told of the wonderful indications then given by him of extraordinary wisdom. About the age of twenty-five, quitting Lahore, he visited most of the holy places in the eastern parts of Hindūstan; in a second excursion he went to the south, passed over to Ceylon, returned to Lahore, and in a third journey went into Persia and Arabia, visiting the

* This place, now grown into a considerable town, named Rāyapūr, is situated on the banks of the Beyah, or Hyphasis of the Greeks.

temples of Mohammed, at Mecca and Medina. In these excursions he was accompanied by a celebrated musician, named Merdana, and a person of the name of Sandhu, who preserved an account of his adventures. In the course of his travels he had many disputes to maintain with learned doctors of the Brahminical and Mohammedan faith; but, being an enemy to discord, he defended his tenets with moderation, avoiding every opportunity of giving offence. He wished to persuade men to renounce what he considered as useless, or criminal fictions, and to confine their faith to the great principle of religion, a belief in the omnipotence and unity of God. Being at Vatala, he was called upon by some Yōgis-Waras,* to exhibit some miracle as proof of his powers; he replied, "I have nothing to exhibit worthy of you to behold; a holy teacher has no defence but the purity of his doctrines; the world

* Hermits, who pass their lives in privations of every thing that can serve to gratify the senses.

may change, but the Creator is unchangeable." These words, says his biographer,* were no sooner pronounced than the Yōgis-Waras fell at the feet of the humble Nanac. He seems to have spent about fifteen years in his different journeys, but on his return from his third excursion, he declared his resolution of not quitting his native country any more, and took up his residence at Kirtipur-Dehra, on the banks of the Ravi,† in a convenient dwelling that was prepared for him by the Rajah of Kullanore, who had become one of his disciples. There he spent the rest of his days in peace, and, as he loved retirement, free from the cares and bustle of this world: his wife and children dwelt at Kullanore, coming occasionally to visit him. Having obtained extensive fame for wisdom and piety, persons of all persuasions went to converse with him, or listen to his discourse; and the Sikhs say, that *when they*

* Bhai Guru Das Vali.

† The Hydraotes of the Greeks.

heard him, they forgot that mankind had any religion but one. He died about the age of seventy, and was buried on the bank of the Ravi, which has since overflowed his tomb. Kirtipur continues to be a place of religious resort, and a piece of Nanac's garment is still shewn in the temple there, to devout pilgrims who come to visit it. Passing by his children and relations, he named as his successor to teach his doctrines, a favourite disciple and companion, likewise of the Cshatriya cast, called Lehana, to which name he added that of Angad, signifying the deliverer of precepts. Lehana died in 1552, leaving two sons, Vasu and Datu, but named as his successor Amera Das, a Cshatriya of the tribe of Bhalé. Amera was distinguished for his zeal in propagating the tenets of Nanac, and obtained many converts to them. He had a son, named Mohan, and a daughter, Mohani, whom he married to a young man of his own cast, named Ram Das. Dying in the year of Christ 1574, he declared Ram Das his successor, who be-

came famous for his piety. The town of Kujarawal, where his father-in-law Amera had resided, was greatly enlarged and improved by him. It was afterwards for some time named Rampur, or Ramdaspur, but having caused a famous tank, or reservoir of water to be constructed, which he called Amritsar, or the fountain of ambrosia, the city now bears that name. Ram Das died in 1581, and was succeeded by his eldest son named Arjun Mal, who compiled and arranged the doctrines of Nanac, in a work intituled *Adi-Granth*, or *The first Book.** Arjun for some time propagated

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* In communications made to the author by the late Colonel Polier, he calls it *Pathy*, but both Pathy and Grantha signify book.

" The first sacred volume of the Sikhs contains ninety-two sections; it was partly composed by Nanac and his immediate successors, but received its present form and arrangement from Arjunmal, who blended his own additions with what he thought most valuable in the compositions of his predecessors. Though the original Adi-Granth was thus compiled by Arjunmal, from the writings of Nanac, Angad, Amera Das, and Ram Das, and enlarged and improved by his own additions and

his tenets with great success, but having excited the attention and jealousy of the Mohammedan government, he was arrested, thrown into prison, and, it is said, cruelly put to death in the year 1606. The Sikhs, who till then had been a peaceable and inoffensive sect, took arms under his son and successor Har Govind. Now arose that desperate and implacable hatred which has ever since animated the followers of Nanac and Mohammed against each other. This chieftain is reputed to be the first who permitted his followers to eat all animal food, except the cow species. Har Govind had five sons, Babu-Gúrú Daitya, Saurat-Sinh, Tégh Sinh, Anna Ray, and Atal Ray: the two last died without issue, the eldest died before his father, leaving two

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commentaries, some small portions have been subsequently added by thirteen different persons, whose numbers, however, are reduced, by the Sikh authors, to twelve and a half; the last contributor to this sacred volume being a woman, is only admitted to rank in the list as a fraction, by these ungallant writers."—*General Malcolm.*

sons, Dáharmal and Har Ray, who succeeded his grand-father Har Govind, in 1644. Saurat-Sinh and Tégh Sinh were obliged by the persecution of the Mohammedans, to flee into the mountains to the north of the Panjab. It appears that Har Ray, being of a mild, tranquil temper, was not disturbed by the Mohammedans. At his death, in 1661, a contest arose which of his sons, Har Crĭshn or Ram Ray, should succeed him. The dispute was referred to the imperial court of Dehly, when by a decree of Aurengzebe, the Sikhs were allowed to chuse themselves their spiritual leader, for their chief had now scarcely any temporal power. The choice fell on Har Crĭshn, who died at Dehly, in 1664, and was succeeded by his uncle, Tégh Sinh, who, at the instigation of his nephew, Ram Ray, who had remained at Dehly, was seized, brought thither, and confined in prison, where he remained two years, when he was released at the intercession of Jaya Sinh, Rajah of Jayapour, whom he accompanied to Bengal, and took up his re-

sidence at Patna where a Sikh college had been established.* But the malice of Ram Ray still pursuing him in his retreat, by an order from court he was again arrested, brought away from Patna, and (the Sikhs say) publicly put to death. The son of Tégh Singh, named Guru Govind Singh, though yet a youth, resolved to avenge the death of his father, and, if possible, deliver his countrymen from their present humiliating and oppressed state. Their history from this period assumes a new aspect; we shall gradually find them become a warlike, and at length a powerful people. Hitherto they had been forbidden the use of arms except merely in self-defence; but Guru Govind judged perseverance in those maxims to be incompatible with their security and independence.

Having collected a large party of fol-

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* See an account of this college, by Mr. (now Dr.) Charles Wilkins, who visited it.—*Asiat. Res.* 8vo. vol. i. p. 288.

lowers, he caused them to swear eternal hatred to the Mohammedans, and in no case, however great the extremity, ever to submit to them; and he exacted the same oath from all those who afterwards joined him. Having been acknowledged Guru or spiritual leader, as well as temporal chief, in addition to the former tenets of his sect, he admitted as laudable all just exertions for obtaining worldly advantages: he declared such as should enter into the sect, upon a level with all the other Sikhs, and ordained that distinctions should depend entirely on what should be done to merit them. Hence the highest of the Hindû casts, who became a Sikh, had no preeminence over the Sudras who are the lowest: but besides that the Sudras compose by far the most numerous cast, he knew that they would more readily be disposed to quit it, than those of the superior tribes. Further, to inspire men, hitherto of mean habits, with more elevated sentiments, he gave to all his warlike followers, without

exception, the name of *Sinh*, or *Lion*, till then exclusively assumed by the Rajapūts. To reconcile those of superior birth with having Sudras introduced amongst them, he employed some of these to bring away the remains of Tégh Singh from Dehly, a thing which all the Sikhs most ardently desired, but which had never been thought practicable. The service, though most difficult, was performed; and those who had not only displayed an extraordinary degree of courage, but dexterity in executing it, were unanimously allowed to have merited the honors that were conferred on them. Numbers of the same class afterwards resorted to his standard, and many imitating the example that had been set to them, and to maintain their reputation, distinguished themselves by their valour and good conduct.

In the Panjab his cause was warmly espoused by a Hindū chief, in rebellion against the Mohammedan government, and who gave him possession of Mak'haval, and

some villages contiguous to it on the banks of the Setlege.* He ordained that his disciples, on meeting each other, should begin their salutations, by saying, *Success to the state of the Guru! Victory ever attend the Guru!* and that they should wear a dress of a blue colour, and preserve their hair and beards. The last ordinance was, perhaps, merely to distinguish them from other classes; but an institution by which all were enjoined to exercise arms, and to use an exclamation that so frequently revived in their minds the sentiment of attachment to their chief and the state, announce the policy of the Guru as a leader. We shall not follow Govind through the subsequent part of his life. After great efforts to defend himself against the powerful forces sent to subdue him, by the Emperor Aurengzebe, he was ultimately obliged to abandon the Panjab. Neither the place nor manner of his death has been transmit-

* The Hesudrus of the Greeks.

ted to us. He left several writings behind him, on theological subjects, commentaries of his life, and a history of his pedigree. He was the tenth and last acknowledged spiritual chief of the Sikhs.—A prophecy had limited the number to ten, but a faithful disciple and friend of Govind, named Banda, united the Sikhs under his banners: and the disorders that happened on the death of Aurengzebe, in 1707, afforded him a favourable opportunity of again bringing them into the field. After defeating different parties of Mohammedans, he resolved to attack Foujdar Khan, governor of Sirhind, who was particularly obnoxious to the Sikhs, as murderer of the infant children of Govind Singh. A battle was fought with great valour on both sides; but the Sikhs, inspired with a spirit of religious frenzy, accompanied by the deadly wish of revenge, ultimately prevailed. Foujdar Khan fell, and with him the greatest part of his army. Banda entering Sirhind cut off almost all the Mohammedans whom he found there. He next subdued the coun-

try between the Setlege and the Jumna,* and, crossing that river, made inroads into the province of Saharanpur. The first check which the Sikhs received after these successes, was from a general of the Emperor Behauder Shah, named Kūli Khan; who defeated a body of them that had advanced to Pannipath. The death of Behauder Shah, which happened about this time, and the confusion that ensued, prevented Kūli from pursuing the advantage he had obtained, and Banda soon afterwards defeated Islam Khan, the governor of Sirhind: but a large army being sent against him by the Emperor Farakseir, under the command of Abdal Samad Khan, an officer of high reputation, after a most desperate action, Banda was defeated, and his followers dispersed. With some of these he got into the fortress of Lohgad, where, after suffering extreme famine, he was constrained to surrender. Banda, with several principal persons of his tribe were

* The Hesudrus and Jomanes of the Greeks.

sent prisoners to Dehly, where, after being exposed to every sort of popular insult, they were publicly put to death.*

Though the Sikhs followed Banda to the field, they do not revere his memory in a religious view, or consider him as a spiritual leader; and he is even spoken of by some of their writers as a heretic. He

* A Mohammedan author, in a work intituled *Seir Mutákherin*, thus relates the circumstances of their deaths:

"It is singular that these people not only behaved firmly during their execution, but they disputed with each other who should suffer first, each making interest with the executioner to obtain the preference. Banda was at last produced, his son being seated in his lap, his father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did, without uttering one word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those torments he expired; his black soul taking its flight, by one of those wounds, towards the regions for which it was so well fitted." No person of even the most common feelings can read this account without a sentiment of horror, and indignation against the perpetrators of those murders, and the author who relates them.—*See Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.*

was by birth a Hindū, of those people known by the name, Bairaghi. Amongst other changes proposed by him, he wished to make the Sikhs refrain from eating flesh, abandon their blue dress, and instead of the salutations commanded by Guru Govind, to say on meeting each other, "*Success to piety, success to the sect.*" The class of Acalis, or *immortals*, which had been established by Govind, opposed Banda's innovations with inflexible perseverance; for which many of them suffered martyrdom. At the death of Banda all the institutions of Govind were restored; but the *entire* blue dress, instead of being, as at first, worn by all Sikhs, is now the particular distinction of the Acalis.

After the defeat of Banda, the Sikhs were pursued by the Mohammedans with implacable fury. An imperial edict was issued, ordering all who professed the religion of Nanac, wherever they should be found, to be instantly put to death without any form of trial. A reward was offered for the head of every Sikh; and to give

more effect to the edict, all Hindūs were commanded, under pain of death, to cut off their hair. Such as could escape their persecutors, fled into the woods and mountains which bound the Panjab on the N.E. From that time to the invasion of India by Nadir Shah, in 1738, little is known of the Sikhs. Soon after that event, we find them established principally at Delawâl on the banks of the Ravy,* where they constructed a fortress. Here they resumed their warlike predatory habits, and are said to have harassed and plundered the straggling parties of the Persian army on its return from Dehly. The state to which the empire was reduced by this invasion, and the weak character of Mohammed Shah, its sovereign, were opportunities eagerly seized, and actively employed by the Sikhs, to extend their possessions: and the admission into their sect of numerous military

* By Rennell termed the Rauvee: it is the Hydraotes of the Greek Geographers.

adventurers, and others, who in consequence of the disasters that had happened, were left without employment, seems at this period to have prodigiously increased their force. Since the death of Guru Govind, no spiritual leader had been chosen by them; nor, since that of Banda, any temporal chief; they therefore do not now appear as acting under one supreme authority, but as following the banners of different chiefs, who from rank, property, or extraordinary valour and talents, were enabled to form parties; and hence we presume is the origin of that federative community of Rajahs or chiefs, of which the constitution of that extraordinary people is composed. The influence of those chiefs in their federative councils, was naturally then, as now, in proportion to their respective force, or as sometimes happens in all assemblies, that which is obtained by address and the powers of eloquence. But, according to their institutions, the *Guru-Mata*, or national council, in case of war, chuses for a limited time a military leader.

The Sikhs gradually made themselves masters of the Duabs * of Jallindhara and Ravy, or country situated between the Ravy † and Beyah,‡ and between the latter and the Setlege.§ They, however, received several checks from Mir Munnoo, the Mohammedan governor of Lahore, who named Adina Beg Khan to the charge of the countries in which the Sikhs had principally established themselves. Adina Beg defeated them in an action fought near Makhaval; but whether from policy, or as it is pretended from being himself secretly of their religion, instead of prosecuting hostilities, he entered into a negociation with them, which ended in their engaging on their part to desist from their predatory conduct, and on his, in promising to leave them undisturbed in the terri-

* Duab signifies a tract of land nearly enclosed by the approximation of two rivers. That formed by the Ganges and Jumna is called, by way of pre-eminence, *The Duab.—Rennell.*

† Hydraotes. ‡ Hyphasis. § Hesudrus.

tories then held by them. At the death of Mir Munnoo, Adina Beg succeeded him in the government of Lahore. Threatened by the Afghans under their sovereign Ahmed Shah Duranny, or as he is more generally named, Ahmed Shah Abdalla, he entered into a confederacy with the Sikhs, by which they were encouraged to make incursions into the Afghan territories. Ahmed, irritated by the conduct of the governor of Lahore, who he knew was encouraged in it by the court of Dehly, resolved to invade India.—This celebrated person, founder of the Afghan monarchy, was born in Candahar, of an illustrious family. Hussein Cawn, governor of that province, had caused Ahmed and his brother Zulfecur Cawn to be arrested and confined, but they were released by Nadir Shah, on his invasion of that country, who sent them into Mezenderān. Zulfecur died there, but we find Ahmed, shortly after the return of Nadir from his eastern expedition, commanding a body of Afghan and Ouzbec cavalry in his army, and become

one of his favourite generals. The day after the assassination of Nadir, Ahmed was summoned by the conspirators to meet them for the purpose of deliberating on the measures to be taken, but he refused attendance. Though the body of troops he commanded, consisted of only a few thousand cavalry, it was a select band. After a short but sharp action between him and some of the conspirators, finding his force and means unequal to maintaining the contest, and having learnt also, that Ali Kouli Khan, the nephew of Nadir, was at the head of the conspiracy, he ably withdrew, carrying with him a part of Nadir's treasure, which, some time before that event, had been committed to his care. Proceeding towards his own country, he found at Candahar a convoy of money coming from India to Nadir, which he also seized. He afterwards progressively took possession of and subdued, besides Candahar, all the extensive countries, which, afterwards, composed under him the Afghan empire.

In consequence of the provocation given him by Adina Beg and the Sikhs, having

crossed the Attock, Adina unable to oppose him, fled towards Dehly, while Ahmed continuing to advance, levied heavy contributions as he went. The emperor Mohammed Shah, who, in 1738, had been obliged to lay his crown at the foot of Nadir,* still reigned at Dehly. He sent a numerous army to oppose the Afghans, under the command of his son, who like the leader of these was also named Ahmed. The prince was accompanied by the Vizir Kimmer Ul Dean Khan, the person in whom the emperor alone confided, and who in all his vicissitudes had ever remained

* Nadir Shah entered India in the beginning of 1738, and re-crossed the Indus at the end of 1739. "The cruelties exercised by him in India, were such, that a dervise had the courage to present a writing to him, conceived in these terms: *If thou art a god, act as a god; if thou art a prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation; if thou art a king, render the people happy, and do not destroy them.* To which the barbarian replied: *I am no god, to act as a god; nor a prophet, to shew the way of salvation; nor a king, to render the people happy: but I am he whom God sends to the nations which he has determined to visit with his wrath.*"—*Orme's Hist.* vol. i. p. 23.

faithful to him. The armies being in presence of each other, different partial actions took place. In one of these, the vizir was killed by a cannon shot. The news of this event being carried to the emperor, he was so deeply affected by it, that he died the next day in a convulsive agony of grief. The Shah-Zadda, or hereditary prince, on receiving intelligence of the demise of his father, gave the command of the army to the son of the late vizir, and hastened to the capital, where he was proclaimed emperor.

We do not mean to follow the Afghan monarch in the course of his expeditions, either on the western or eastern side of the Indus. Returning from one of the latter to his own dominions, he left a body of troops in Sirhind, under one of his generals, named Jehan Khan; and another under his son Taimur in Lahore, with orders to take vengeance on the Sikhs, for having borne arms against him. The first enterprise of Taimur was on Amritsar, which he destroyed; an outrage, that so exasperated

the Sikhs, that all who were capable of bearing arms, assembled in order to avenge it. Taimur made several attacks upon them, in which he was constantly repulsed by a leader of much celebrity, named Jasa Sinh Calal, who even got possession of the town and fortress of Lahore. Adina Beg, who still bore the title of governor of the province for the emperor, invited to his assistance an army of Mahrattas, which had already advanced towards the north under the command of three chiefs, Raghunat Rao Sahib Pateil, and Malhar Rao: but these chiefs, instead of aiding him, entered and subdued Sirhind, expelling from thence the Afghan general Jehan Khan. They next advanced into Lahore, which they likewise reduced. From hence a detachment from their army was sent into Moultan, whilst Sahib Pateil advanced with another corps and took position on the banks of the Attock in order to observe the Afghans who were in force on the western side of the river. But the commotions that broke out in Hindūstan and in the

Deckan, obliged the Mahratta armies to quit Lahore and return towards the south. Adina Beg died in the ensuing year, 1760; and the Sikhs profited by the present state of things to re-establish their authority in the province. In the same year another Mahratta army again advanced toward the north, with the avowed intention of making the conquest of that part of Hindūstan. The nominal commander of this army was a youth of seventeen years, eldest son of Bala Row the Peishwa, or efficient chief of the Mahratta state; the real commander was Sedasheo Row Bow, who had for some years occupied the place of first minister to the Peishwa; but, though an able statesman, he seems to have been destitute of the qualities of a general. Contrary to what had been in former times the mode of warfare of the Mahrattas, his army was encumbered with artillery and baggage.* After remaining for some time at Agra and the countries contiguous to it, the Bow, as

* See Appendix, Note C.

he is generally called, marched to Dehly, of which city he took possession. The periodical rains having set in soon after his arrival there, he put his army into cantonments. The Afghan monarch had for some time past been too much occupied in his own dominions, to take any active part in the transactions in India; but being warmly pressed by some Mohammedan chiefs to come to their assistance against the Mahrattas, he again crossed the Attock. Those chiefs having joined him with their forces, and consented to be guided by him, he marched against the Mahratta leaders, who instead of advancing to meet him, established themselves in a strong position at Panniputh, in the province of Dehly, and about forty-five miles north of that city. The Mahrattas counted above 200,000 men under arms, even after the desertion of the Jats, who secretly quitted them. The Mohammedan army amounted to about 150,000. The Mahrattas had covered the most accessible parts of their camp with batteries and entrenchments. The armies

remained in presence of each other near three months, during which several partial actions were fought with various fortune. The activity of Ahmed to prevent supplies from getting into the enemy's camp, had at last reduced the Mahrattas to be in want of subsistence. The Bow, their real commander, having in this extremity resolved to give battle, early on the morning of the 7th of January, 1761, quitted his camp and marched towards the Mohammedans. At day-light the Mahrattas were seen advancing with their numerous artillery distributed in their lines. Ahmed was soon in readiness to receive them. The battle, one of the most bloody and obstinate that almost ever imbrued even the plains of Hindūstan, was completely engaged shortly after sunrise, and continued with unremitting fury till between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Mahrattas began to give way, and soon after fled, leaving dead upon the field, Biswas Row, a youth of most promising qualities, Sedashéo Row Bow, with many other generals, and at

least 50,000 of the best troops of their army. A still greater number is supposed to have perished in the pursuit, for the Afghans gave no quarter. Above two hundred pieces of cannon with all their baggage, including an immense booty taken at Dehly and other places during this expedition, fell into the hands of the conquerors.* Soon after this event Ahmed returned to Cabul, carrying with him, besides the principal part of the richest booty taken from the Mahrattas, a large sum paid to him by the different Mohammedan chiefs for his assistance.

Early in 1762, he again crossed the At-

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* See an account of this battle by Casi Rajah Pundit, who was an ocular witness of it. Asiat. Researches, vol. iii. p. 488—491. Having examined some of the prisoners, he computes the number of persons of every description, men, women, and children, taken or killed, on this occasion, at near five hundred thousand. This number may appear incredible to those who have not seen Indian armies, but in the usual way of warfare in India, at least three followers of all kinds, may be reckoned to every one who is to fight as a soldier.

tock, and over-ran the whole of the Panjab, every where defeating and dispersing the Sikhs, who took refuge in the woods and mountains. He halted at Lahore, in order to complete the conquest, and regulate the affairs of that province. The Sikhs, thereupon, assembled in Sirhind, where being above a hundred miles from Lahore, they were without apprehension of any immediate danger: but Ahmed, by one of those sudden and rapid movements, to which he frequently had recourse in his operations, after two days march, surprised and defeated them.* The Sikhs lost on this occasion above twenty thousand men, the rest again betook themselves to their fastnesses. Amritsar was now entirely razed to the ground, and the sacred reservoir filled with its ruins. Every Sikh that could be found, was instantly put to death; *pyramids of their heads were to be seen in the market places;* and the walls of such mosques as they were thought to have

* February, 1762.

defiled, were washed with their blood, as an expiation of their pollutions. But these barbarities instead of intimidating and deterring them from farther enterprize, animated them with a desire of revenge, superior to the fears of danger. Though unable to meet Ahmed's troops in the field, they neglected no opportunity to surprise them, and retaliate their cruelties. Some commotions in his western dominions having recalled him to Cabul, they attacked his troops in Lahore, took that city, and there levelled with the ground the mosques, which a few months before, had been stained with the blood of their countrymen. In 1762, Ahmed retook Lahore, and subdued also all the adjacent countries; but being obliged, as before, to recross the Indus, the Sikhs again made themselves masters of the Panjab. The discipline and courage of the Affghans, when deprived of the presence of their leader, gradually declined, and at last yielded to the extraordinary activity and unremitting perseverance of the Sikhs. Ahmed died on the 15th July,

1773, in the 50th year of his age, at a place to the north of Cabul, named Khotoba, whither he had retired on account of the temperature of its climate at that season. He seems to have possessed all the qualities fit for conquering, and forming an empire. With undaunted courage, and a spirit neither to be discouraged by difficulties, nor dismayed by adversity, he was at the same time a skilful captain and consummate politician. In the government of his Affghan and Persian territories, he is said to have been just; liberal in rewarding merit, but severe in his punishments. In warfare he was cruel. He, on those occasions, exhibits one of those terrible but happily rare examples of the exercise of power without mercy, by one insensible to pity, and incapable of remorse.* He left

* Impartiality, however, requires us to observe that a more favourable character of him than that above stated, has been given by Mr. Elphinston, in his *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies*, p. 557.

"After the battle of Pannyputh, thousands of Mahratta prisoners were put to death by him in cold blood. The

his eldest son, Taimur Shah, the sole heir of his very extensive dominions: but this

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body of Biswas Row had been conveyed to the camp of Sujah Ul Dowlah. Ahmed sent for it, he said, *to look at;* all who saw it, were in admiration of its beauty; it was not disfigured by death, but appeared as an innocent youth asleep; he had a wound from a sword in the neck, and one from an arrow over his left eye. Some of Ahmed's troops, who had assembled to gaze at it, called out: *This is the body of a king of unbelievers; it ought to be preserved, and sent to Cabul to be shewn there.* It was accordingly sent to the quarters of one of Ahmed's officers, named Berkhordar Khan. As soon as Sujah Ul Dowlah was informed of what had passed, he waited on Ahmed, and represented to him, that animosity should cease with the life of an enemy; that it was always the custom in Hindūstan, after a victory to restore the bodies of the chiefs, of whatever race or tribe they were, in order that they should receive their proper obsequies, according to the rites of their particular faith; such conduct, he observed, did honour to the victors. Your Majesty, said he, is only here for a time, but Sujah Ul Dowlah, and the other Hindūstanee chiefs, are to reside in this country, and may have future transactions with the Mahrattas, when our conduct on the present occasion will be remembered; therefore let the body be given up to them, that they may act as is customary here.—Though all the Hindūstanee Mohammedan chiefs joined in the request, it re-

Affghan, or, as it is sometimes called, Dowranee and Abdalli empire, such as it then was, no longer exists; having, after various convulsions and changes, been divided under different rulers.*

The Sikhs, soon after the death of Ahmed, made themselves masters of Lahore, and even extended their conquests considerably beyond it. But the countries possessed by them, being divided under different chiefs, who, though confederated, are in the government of their immediate possessions

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quired much entreaty and negociation, ere he would consent to send the body back, and permit it, together with the body of Sedashéo Row Bow to be burnt according to the custom of their cast."—*See Account of the battle of Paniput, As. Res.* vol. iii.

* Taimur Shah died after a reign of nineteen years. His government is said to have been mild and equitable, but having relaxed from that strict military discipline, and that exact administration of affairs invariably maintained by his father, his authority declined, order was no longer preserved, and to these causes, and the manner in which he bequeathed his possessions by dividing them, is to be ascribed the dissolution of the Affghan monarchy.

independent, feuds were the natural consequence of such a system. Each chief wished to increase his territories; each became the jealous rival and enemy of his neighbour; each had a fortress, or castle, for his residence, and in the Panjab, not only every town, but every considerable village, is surrounded with walls, to secure those who reside in them from being surprised by the enemies of their chief.* The Guru-Mata, or national council, still exists; but the powerful chiefs frequently refuse to obey its decrees. Hence their combined operations are necessarily tardy and imperfect, whether in the way of defensive or offensive war: and Dowlat Row Scindia, the adopted son and successor of Madah-Jee Scindia, besides compelling the Sikhs to abandon all they had taken possession

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* This mode exists in other parts of India, particularly those which by their situation were exposed to sudden incursions of the Mahrattas. Instead of walls, the villages are sometimes inclosed with broad thick hedges, of bamboos and various species of thorns.

of in the province of Dehly, obliged those who had settled in Sirhind, to submit and pay tribute, but who, in consequence of his unsuccessful war with the English, again recovered their independence.

The countries now possessed by the Sikhs, are bounded on the west by the Indus; on the north by the chain of mountains that extend from that river under Cashmire, towards Gungowtry; on the N.E. and E. by the possessions of the mountaineer Rajahs of Jammu, Nadon, and Srinagur, and by the Jumnah; and southward, by the possessions of the English, by the sandy deserts of Jesalmir and Hansaya Hisar, and by the northern borders of Sindy, at the city of Backar, on the Indus. Many parts of their territories, but particularly the Panjab, are remarkably fertile, producing wheat, barley, rice, and various other grain. Grapes, and other fruits, are in the greatest plenty; and in the tract between the Indus and Behut, are some extensive valuable mines of rock-salt.

The word *Panjab* is a compound of the

words *Panj*, five, and *ab*, water, intending thereby to express a country intersected, or watered by five rivers. Those rivers are the Behut, named also Jhylum, the Chunaub, the Rauvy, the Bheyah, and the Setlege: but besides these five great rivers, it is also watered by several inferior streams. These rivers are not only one of the causes of the great fertility of the Panjab, but for several months of the year almost render it secure against invasion, by the difficulties which they oppose to the progress of armies during the rainy season, when they generally overflow their banks and inundate the neighbouring fields. Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, is situated on the Rauvy, a noble river, having a navigable communication with the Indus and all its various branches.* Lahore is supposed to be the spot where the Bucephalia of Alexander stood. It was the principal place of residence, or capital of the early Mohammedan invaders of Hin-

* Rennell.

dūstan. An avenue of shady trees once extended the whole of the way from thence to Agra, a distance of about five hundred English miles.*

All the descendants of the followers of

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* Remains of such avenues are to be met with in different parts of India. They were planted and maintained by the munificence of princes and nobles, not only to ornament their countries, but also for utility. By their shade, travellers were protected from the scorching rays of the sun, and at certain distances found seats to repose themselves. Along the roads also, choultries, or public buildings, are to be found, into which all, of whatever country, or faith, may freely enter, and lodge without expense. Many of those were erected and endowed by the Hindū princes of the country, and many by rich individuals, and not unfrequently in consequence of some pious vow. A Brahmin of inferior order generally resides near the choultry, who furnishes the needy traveller with a portion of rice, and fuel to prepare it. It is not an uncommon practice also, in the southern parts of India, in the extreme hot season, for rich persons to cause numerous intermediate temporary choultries to be erected, which are constructed with timbers, covered with the broad leaves of the palm tree, and where persons constantly attend to furnish *Congi*, or rice-water, ready prepared, to assuage the thirst of those who may chuse to take it.

Guru Govind, are soldiers, and distinguished by the name of Singh, lion; the others are now called merely Sikhs, without Singh being added. The Sikhs may shave their beards and cut off their hair; but those who bear the title of *Singh*, carefully preserve both. The Singh may eat all animal food, except the cow-race, but the others observe almost the same restrictions in their diet as the Hindūs.

The inhabitants of the country situated between the Jumna and Setlege,* are

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* "On the 25th April, I crossed the Setlege. This river seems to have its source in the hills bearing from this about north-east, and flows in a south-westerly direction, through a fine, open, champaign country. Its banks are very low, and it bears the appearance of a fine canal running in two channels, the first fordable, and in breadth about one hundred yards across, and the second, three hundred and fifty; the water is deep but not rapid. There are twenty boats at the ghaut, of rude construction, but well adapted for crossing artillery and cavalry, in one of which both my elephants crossed with ease. They are each capable of containing twenty horses, the men ride into them at once, without dismounting; they resemble in figure an oblong square, with a prow at one

named Mâlawâ Singhs. Sirhind was once the capital of this country, but it is now almost in ruins, owing chiefly to the destructive ravages of Banda,* who not only caused the mosques, but also all the other public buildings, and even palaces, of that once flourishing town, to be demolished. The sacred Seraswati, for which the Sikhs have the highest veneration, flows through this province, whose principal towns now are Patiala and Thânesur.

The country between the Setlege and the Beyah,† is called Jalendra Beit, or Ja-

end. The river, during the rains, is full one and a half mile broad. The distance from the Jumna to the Setlege is six stages, being sixty of their coss, each measuring 2,600 ordinary paces."—*Tour to Lahore, by an Officer of the Bengal Army. As. Ann. Register*, vol. xi. p. 426.

* See p. 289, 290.

† "On the 30th April, I crossed the Beyah, on the same kind of boats as at the Setlege. The Beyah flows in two branches, the waters of which are deep but not rapid: its western banks are high, and its breadth cannot be less, in rainy seasons, than one mile and a half."—*Tour to Lahore.*

lendra Duab, and the people inhabiting it, Duaba Singhs. This country, which reaches from the mountains of Himalaya, or Imaus, on the N. W. down to the junction of the Setlege and Beyah, at Ferosepour, is one of the most fruitful provinces possessed by the Sikhs, and remarkable for the agreeableness and salubrity of its climate. Its principal towns are Jalendra and Sultanpour.

The country between the Beyah and Rauvy, is called Bari Duab, and the people inhabiting it Manj'ha Singh. The city of Lahore, which was considered as the capital of the Panjab, and the holy city of Amritsar, are in this province.

The inhabitants of the country between the Rauvy and Chunab, are called D'harpi Singh. Those between the Chunab and Behat, or Jhelum, are named D'hanighab Singh; those in the countries belonging to the Sikhs between that river and the Indus, Sind Singh; and those in Moultan, Nakai Singh. But notwithstanding the name Singh be given to the inhabitants of each

of the territories we have mentioned here, the general name of the nation is Sikh, and those called Sikhs only, without the appellative *Singh,* are by far the most numerous part of the population.

The government of the Sikhs considered as a state, consists of a federation of a number of independent chiefs; who are masters of their own subjects, and acknowledge no human superior, but declare themselves servants of what they call *Khalsa,*—a mystical word which may be said to mean *invisible government;* the established rules and laws of which, as explained and fixed by Guru Govind, it is their civil and religious duty to observe.* On great emergencies the Guru-Mata, or national assembly, is summoned to meet at Amritsar,† and this assem-

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* Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.

† "Amritsar is an open town, about four coss (nearly eight miles) in circumference. The streets are rather narrow, the houses in general good, lofty, and built of burnt brick; but their apartments are very confined. It is the grand emporium of trade for shawls and saffron

bly, after the due performance of certain religious ceremonies, is supposed to act by

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from Cashmeer, and a variety of other commodities from the Dukkun and eastern parts of India. The Rajah levies an excise on all the merchandize sold in the town, according to its value, which is not complained of by the merchants. The exports of this place are very trifling, the inhabitants only manufacturing some coarse kinds of cloth and inferior silks. From being the resort of many rich merchants, and the residence of bankers, Amritsar is considered a place of great opulence. The Rajah has made a new fort here, called Runjeit Ghur, and has brought a canal from the Rauvy, a distance of thirty-four miles.

"I visited in due ceremony, and without shoes, Amritsar (or the pool of immortality), from which the town takes its name; it is a bason of about one hundred and thirty-five paces square, built of burnt brick, in the centre of which stands a pretty temple, dedicated to Guru Govind Singh, to which you go by a causeway. It is neatly decorated, both within and without, and the Rajah is making additional ornaments to it at his own expense. In this sacred place is lodged, under a silken canopy, the book of laws, as written by Guru Govind Singh, in the Gumuk'hee character. The temple is called Hurmundul, or God's place; there are from five to six hundred Acalis, or priests, belonging to

the immediate influence of the Khalsa, or *spirit of the invisible government.*

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it, who have built good houses for themselves out of the voluntary contributions of people visiting it; they receive considerable sums from the Rajah, who visits it twice a day, during his stay at Amritsar; on which occasion the priests generally press him for money, telling him that his country is the gift of Guru Govind, without whose will he could not hold it. On that account he seldom stays above four or five days, and generally resides at Lahore, which is still considered the metropolis of the Panjab.

"The Rajah has a mint here, and the different coins are still struck in the name of the greatest saint in their kalendar, namely, Baba Nanuk Shah, who lived in the time of Akber.

"I again visited Amritsar, but I did not find the priests so courteous and attentive, as on the first day, when they offered me an apartment near the temple, and also gave notice that I might ascend to the top of it when I pleased. But now this indulgence is forbidden, and the apartment shut, both offers being revoked from some doubt of their propriety in the minds of a few of the priests, and one dissenting voice is quite sufficient to deter the whole of them from fulfilling a promise, or from the performance of any previous resolution; however, they sent a choir of psalm-singers to my tent, who sung a number of psalms, as composed by Baba Nanuk

The power of summoning the Guru-Mata, at Amritsar, appertains to the chiefs of the Acalis,* a class of devotees, who with arms as well as exhortations, defended the institutes of Guru Govind against the innovations of the sectary Banda. To distinguish themselves from all other Sikhs, they are dressed in a blue chequered cloth, and wear bracelets of steel round their wrists. The other Sikhs, we believe, are not permitted to wear such bracelets; but it is the indispensable duty of all Singhs constantly to wear a sword or dagger. The Acalis have

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Shah, Guru Govind, and the other saints, to the tune of the Rubab (four stringed instrument), Dotara (two ditto), Sarinda, or Bebec, and the Tublah, transporting the soul to heavenly musings; and although in so different a language from the songs of David, they strike the ear as compositions of the same kind, and are all in praise of the attributes and unity of God."—*Tour to Lahore, by an Officer of the Bengal Army. As. Ann. Reg.* vol. xi. p. 430, et seq.

* "Acali, derived from Acal, a compound term of Cal, death, and the Sanscrit privative *a*, which means *never dying*, or immortal."—*Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.*

a place of residence on the bank of the sacred reservoir of Amritsar, where they generally resort. Though they profess poverty, and to subsist by alms only, they however enjoy property, and not only ask donations, but even extort them, by preventing those who refuse to comply with their demands, from performing their ablutions, or other religious ceremonies at the temple, until they have satisfied their claims. To offend an Acali is to incur the resentment of the whole tribe; and a chief, who may have incurred its enmity, is exposed to have his dependants taught, when they come to pay their devotions at Amritsar, not to serve or obey him, until he shall have expiated his fault.

Besides the Acalis, there are two other religious orders among the Sikhs, named Shahed and Nirmala, many of whom also reside at Amritsar; but these are peaceful tribes, and confine their occupations to the duties of worship, and to read and explain their doctrines. They are in general well educated, and some of them learned men.

Further, there is a third sect called Nanac Paútra, or descendants of Nanac. These also are a mild and inoffensive tribe; and though they do not acknowledge all the institutions of Guru Govind, yet they are revered by his followers, who consider them as the race of their founder. They never carry arms, and, agreeably to the doctrine of Nanac, profess to be at peace with all mankind. Many of them travel about the country as merchants, and are every where protected, even during the most violent internal contests. The institutions of Guru Govind were the necessary consequences of the Sikhs having had recourse to arms, in order to defend themselves; but he, and his followers, ever considered Nanac as their founder, and except in what regards warfare and conquest, adhere to his religious tenets.

The Guru-Mata is summoned only when the nation is threatened with war, or when something may occur to require the combined efforts of the different chiefs. When the assembly has met and the chiefs are

seated, the Adi-Granth* and other sacred writings are placed before them, to which they all bend their heads, taking God to witness their intention to observe what is ordained by them. In commemoration of an injunction of Nanac, *to eat, and give to others to eat*, a quantity of consecrated cakes, made of flour, butter, and sugar, is then spread before the books of scriptures, and covered with a cloth. All present rise, and bow to them, the Acalis chanting hymns, accompanied with musical instruments. The Acalis then desire the assembly to be seated, when the cakes being uncovered, are presented to, and eaten of by all classes of Sikhs, without any sort of preference or distinction. The chief Acali afterwards exclaims: "Chiefs, this is a Guru-Mata!" on which prayers are again offered to the divinity. When these are ended, the chiefs sit closer, and say to each other, "the sacred *Granth* is betwixt us: let us swear by it to forget all internal disputes, and to be

* See p. 282, supra.

united." The matter on which they are assembled being then exposed, they proceed to deliberate upon it, to adopt plans of conduct, and if in danger of being attacked by any power, or in case of resolving to wage war themselves, they chuse generals to lead their armies.* The army thus assembled, is called the *D'al Khalsa,* or army of the state.

The chiefs are all descended from Hindū tribes, "and there is no instance of any Sikh of a Mohammedan family attaining any high situation among them." The hatred, entertained by the followers of Guru Govind against his persecutors, exists with all its primitive warmth; the offspring of those who changed Islamism for the Sikh faith, are not regarded with the same cordiality as the Sikhs of Hindū origin; and

* General Malcolm observes, that the first Guru-Mata was assembled by Guru Govind, and the latest he knew of, in 1805, when the Mahratta chief, Holkar, fled into the Panjab, and the British army, under Lord Lake, went thither in pursuit of him.

the Mohammedans, who yet remain in the Sikh territories, though numerous, are a poor, oppressed, and despised people; while the Sikhs in general, Singhs and others, are secured from violence; not only by the precepts of their religion, but by the state of the country, which, being divided under numerous chieftains, enables those who may be dissatisfied with their own particular chief, to quit him, and soon place themselves under another, perhaps his enemy or rival. The persons to whom the chiefs commit the management of the revenue and other civil employments, are Sikhs, named *Khalasa,* who are strict followers of the doctrines of Nanac, and brought up to peaceful occupations.

It is a general rule throughout the Panjab, and we presume through the Sikh territories in general, that the chiefs, or proprietors of the land, should receive one-half of its produce, and the cultivator the other half: "but the chief never levies the whole of his share, and in no country, per-

haps, is the Rayat, or cultivator, treated with more indulgence."* The portion to the chief in grain, is paid in kind, but the sugar-cane and other articles of produce, in money, by estimation. The distracted state in which the Panjab was so long involved, and afterwards, the heavy duties exacted by the different chiefs on the transit of merchandize through their territories, had induced the merchants of other parts of India, in their commerce with Cashmire, instead of bringing their goods, as formerly, through the Panjab, to carry them by the circuitous and mountainous tract through Jammu, Nadôn, and Srinagur; but the Sikh chiefs seeing the hurtful consequences of their impolitic exactions, have for some years past, by a wise and moderate conduct, restored confidence to the merchant, and the immense quantity of shawls brought yearly into the peninsula of India, now

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* Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.

passes through the cities of Lahore and Amritsar.*

The administration of justice among the Sikhs is in a comparatively loose and imperfect state; for, though their sacred writings inculcate certain general maxims, they are not considered as positive laws, like the institutes of Menu among the Hindūs, or the Korān among the Mohammedans. The decision of criminal matters, and civil cases of importance, depends almost entirely on the will of the chief. Trifling contests, and matters of property to a certain amount, are settled by the heads of the village where the parties reside, by whom they are mutually chosen. This is called Panjayat, or court of five, the number of arbitrators. Such courts and modes of proceeding, are much in use among the Hindūs in general; and as the members of it are chosen from men of the best reputation, there is rarely

* Mr. Elphinston, in his account of Cabul, estimates the number of shawls made annually in Cashmire at eighty thousand.

cause to complain of injustice or partiality in their decisions.*

The Sikhs have, in general, the Hindū cast of countenance, though by the Singhs it is somewhat disfigured by their long beards.† The Singhs are bold, and, perhaps, rather rough in their address, but this is less the effect of character, than a habit of speaking in a loud tone of voice, for they have no intention to offend, or be imperious.‡ The Sikh merchant, or

* General Malcolm, in his Sketch of the Sikhs, says, that a Sikh priest who had been several years at Calcutta, spoke of this mode of administering justice, with rapture; and insisted, says the general, "with true patriotic prejudice," on its great superiority to the system and forms of the English laws, which were, he said, "tedious, vexatious, and expensive, and advantageous only *to a set of clever rogues*."

† Tour to Lahore, As. An. Reg. vol. xi.

‡ "The old Sikh soldier generally returns to his native village, where his wealth, courage, or experience, always obtains him respect, and sometimes station and consequence. The second march which the British army made into the country of the Sikhs, the head-quarters were near a small village, the chief of which,

husbandman, if he is a Singh, differs little in character and appearance from the sol-

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who was upwards of a hundred years of age, had been a soldier, and retained all the look and manner of his former occupation. He came to me, and expressed his anxiety to see Lord Lake. I shewed him the general, who was sitting alone, in his tent, writing. He smiled, and said he knew better: the hero who had overthrown Scindiah and Holkar, and had conquered Hindūstan, must be surrounded with attendants, and have plenty of persons to write for him. I assured him that it was Lord Lake, and on his lordship coming to breakfast, I introduced the old Singh, who seeing a number of officers collect round him, was at last satisfied of the truth of what I said; and, pleased with the great kindness and condescension with which he was treated by one whom he justly thought so great a man, sat down on the carpet, became quite talkative, and related all he had seen, from the invasion of Nadir Shah to that moment. Lord Lake, pleased with the bold manliness of his address, and the independence of his sentiments, told him he would grant him any favour he wished. *I am glad of it*, said the old man, *then march away with your army from my village, which will otherwise be ruined.* Lord Lake, struck with the noble spirit of the request, assured him he would march next morning, and that, in the mean time, he should

dier, except that his occupations and habits tend to render him milder in his manners. He also wears arms, and is prompt to use them, whenever his individual interest, or that of the community in which he lives, requires him to do so. The general occupations of the Khalasa Sikhs* have been already mentioned. Their character differs widely from that of the Singhs. Full of intrigue, pliant, versatile, and insinuating, they have all the art of the lower classes of Hindūs, who are usually employed in transacting business; and from whom, in-

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have guards, who would protect his village from injury. Satisfied with this assurance, the old Singh was retiring, apparently full of admiration and gratitude at Lord Lake's goodness, and of wonder at the scene he had witnessed, when, meeting two officers, at the door of the tent, he put a hand upon the breast of each, exclaiming at the same time, *brothers! where were you born, and where are you at this moment?* and without waiting for an answer, proceeded to his village."—*Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.*

* Those brought up to accounts, matters of revenue, trade, &c.

deed, as they have no distinction of dress, it is very difficult to distinguish them.*

But "upon the whole, the Sikhs in general are a plain, manly, hospitable, and industrious people. If a Sikh declares himself your friend, he will not disappoint your confidence; if on the other hand he bears enmity to any one, he declares it without reserve."†

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* General Malcolm.

† Tour to Lahore.

In passing through Sirhind, or that large tract of country belonging to the Sikhs, between the Jumnah and Setlege, the author says:—"The inhabitants throughout this country, bear a high character for hospitality and kindness to strangers. Their benevolence is not narrowed by bigotry or prejudice, and disclaims the distinctions of religion or complexion. They are particularly attentive to travellers of all casts or countries. The chief of every town makes a point of subsisting all poor and needy travellers, from his own funds, a part of which is set aside for that purpose, and when that falls short, from an encreased number of indigent claimants, their wants are supplied by a subscription made from the principal inhabitants of the place. It is very pleasing to travel through the towns and villages of this country. The inhabitants receive

It is observed that the Hindūs who become converts to the Sikh religion, continue to adhere to the usages and customs of the tribe or cast to which they belonged, as far as they may do so without infringing the tenets of Nanac, or the institutions of Guru Govind: hence they scarcely ever marry out of the descendants of their particular casts. The Brahmins and Cshatriyas who become Sikhs, continue strictly to observe this; being the highest orders of Hindūs, they seem more tenacious than any other of maintaining their race unmixed with other blood. The Mohammedans who become Sikhs, also intermarry with each other, but they are not allowed to observe any of the practices peculiar to the professors of Islāmism.

A Singh, though infinitely less scrupulous than the Hindū, before he will eat with any one of another religion, draws his sword, and passing it over the victuals,

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the stranger with an air of welcome that prepossesses him in their favour."

repeats a few words of prayer, after which he will sit down and sociably partake of the meal.*

The Sikhs have but one wife; in the event of her death the widower may marry again; but if the husband die, the widow cannot enter a second time into the nuptial state. They burn their dead, and the funeral pile, as with the Hindūs, is lighted by the nearest relation of the deceased. It sometimes, though very rarely, happens, that the widow burns herself with the body of her husband,—a practice from which it is said that Nanac, if he did not positively forbid it, at least recommended them to abstain.† He condemns excessive grief

* This interesting fact was communicated to the author by Mr. John Stuart, who, amongst his other numerous and extensive travels, visited the Panjab.

† The author of the tour to Lahore, alleges, however, that at the city of Jummoo, "it is considered as an indispensable sacrifice to the manes of the deceased husband; and, if the widow does not voluntarily attend the corpse of her husband, and consign herself with it to the flames, the Rajeepoots consider it their duty, in

for those who die; which he considered to be as blamable as to regret the performance of any sacred obligation, or rendering up what may have been for a time confided to us.

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such cases, to put her to death, and to cast her body into the fire, to be burnt with her husband's. So horrible a custom as this, does, I believe, no where else prevail. However frequent the instances of widows devoting themselves to death on the pile with their deceased husbands, yet in all these cases, excepting in the city of Jummoo, if it be not in every instance voluntary, there is no where else, that it is ever urged or enforced by any measure of compulsion." But, notwithstanding the regard we think due to this author, yet as it does not appear that he ever visited Jummoo himself, and as he has omitted to state his authority for what is here advanced, we may be allowed to suspend our belief of it until confirmed by proof resulting from more exact and particular inquiry. Art and persuasion may, perhaps, be employed to induce unhappy victims to sacrifice themselves, but we never heard of any instance where compulsion was used. The city of Jummoo is situated on the Chunab, in about N. Lat. 33. We know not whether it be included in the territories of the Sikhs, but from what the author of the tour says, we conceive that it belongs to an independant Rajahpout prince.

Contrary to the practice of the inhabitants of other parts of Hindūstan, the Sikhs do not smoke tobacco, but they are allowed to use spirituous liquors, and chew Bhang,* which has a strong inebriating quality, and if used to excess, produces a sort of temporary frenzy.

The Singhs, who devote themselves to arms, have all the essential qualities of a soldier, being hardy, active, faithful, and brave. They are strongly attached to their chiefs, and will never desert them while they are treated well. Their troops consist chiefly of cavalry, their infantry being only employed to defend their forts and villages. Their horsemen are equally active and expert as the Mahrattas, with the advantage of being more robust from using more nourishing diet, and inhabiting a cooler climate. They use swords and spears, and many of them carry a matchlock gun, which seems a very uncouth arm for a horseman; but in the use of it, they

* The Cannabis Sativa of Linnæus.

are extremely expert, and are in general excellent marksmen. It carries a larger ball than an European musket, and to a greater distance; and is often employed by them with success, before the enemy be near enough to charge them: but once fired, it is seldom loaded again, recourse being then immediately had to the spear or sabre. In the field, as formerly with the Mahrattas, none but the officers of the highest rank, have tents, which being extremely small, may be struck and transported with quickness and facility. In cold weather the soldier wraps himself, during the night, in a kind of coarse blanket; which, when he marches, serves as a saddle-cloth. Their horses were greatly superior to those in any other part of Hindūstan, but internal contests and warfare having occasioned the care and encouragement formerly given to the breed, to be neglected, it has consequently declined.*

* See Sketches of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm, and Sketches of the Hindūs, by the author of this Es-

Mr. Franklin, in his history of Shaw Allum, states the united force of the Sikhs, in cavalry, in 1794, to be 248,000; but General Malcolm, who was in the Panjab, in 1805, computed it then not to exceed 100,000.

The established faith of the Sikhs is pure deism; which, as observed in a former chapter, is unquestionably the fundamental principle of the Hindū faith: for, though it appears that in remote times, as now, veneration was paid to the sun and water, yet it is evident that the Hindūs ever regarded these, only as things placed in the general system of the universe by the Creator.* Nanac, therefore, like Buddha, ap-

say, vol. ii. pp. 248 et seq.; to which may be added, communications made to the author, by Mr. Stuart and the late Colonel Polier.

* "Veneration for the elements, but especially fire and water, seems to have been common to all the ancient eastern nations. The Medes and Persians considered fire and water as the only true images of the divinity; and it is evident, that the Hindūs, if they do not now worship fire, hold it in religious respect. Every

pears rather in the character of a reformer than a founder of a religion; he wished to

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day at sun-rise the priests go to some river, or to the tanks of their temples, to perform the Sandivancy, or worship to Brahm, *the Supreme*. After having washed themselves, taking water in their right hand, they throw it into the air before and behind them, invoking the Deity, and singing forth thanksgiving and praise. They then throw some towards the sun, expressing their gratitude for his having again appeared to dispel the darkness of the night.

Lucian says, that the Indians offered adoration to the sun, turning themselves towards the east; and Philostratus observes, that they addressed prayers to him in the morning, to favour the cultivation of the earth; and in the evening, not to abandon them, but return again in the morning.

Father Bouchet says, that "He who performs the *Ekiam* should, every morning and evening, put a piece of wood into the fire that is employed for that sacrifice, and take care to prevent it from being extinguished."

Dr. Wilkins informs us, that the Brahmins are enjoined to light up a fire at certain times, which must be produced by the friction of two pieces of wood of a particular kind; and that with the fire thus procured, their sacrifices are burnt, the nuptial altar flames, and the funeral pile is kindled.

In the Heetopades it is said: "Fire is the superior

bring back the Hindūs to the purity of their primitive doctrines, and correct the abuses that had been introduced into them. He wished, if it were possible, to engage all mankind to embrace the same faith, and for the short time they have to remain in this world, to live in peace with each other. In order to conciliate the Hindūs and Mohammedans, and induce them more readily to adopt his tenets, he shewed a certain complacency for the usages of both.

The cow race is considered with as much sacred regard by the Sikhs as by the Hindūs; and we may presume that the Hindū law which prescribes this, was preserved by Nanac for the same reason, for which certainly it was ordained, viz. the extreme utility of the animal. Milk, variously prepared, and butter, especially when melted

of the Brachmans; the Brachman is the superior of the tribes; the husband is the superior of women; but the stranger is the superior of all."—*Sketches of the Hindūs, by the Author of this Essay*, vol. I. p. 228, *et seq.*

and refined into what is termed Ghee,* are universally used by all Hindūs, but especially by those to whom animal food is forbidden. The ox is the chief beast of burthen throughout India, and the only one employed in tillage. Nanac, though a Hindū by birth, and originally of the Brahminical religion, seems to have been equally well acquainted with the Korān as the Vedas, and to have approved many things contained in both: but, while he allowed the Hindūs and Mohammedans to retain such usages as did not materially affect his own doctrines, he boldly opposes their errors. He speaks of Mohammed and his successors without acrimony, but reprobates their attempts to propagate their religion by violence: "Put on armour (says he) that will hurt no one; let thy coat of mail be that of reason, and convert

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* The Ghee may be preserved a considerable time without injury, and is used by Europeans and Mohammedans as well as Hindūs, for culinary purposes, as butter is in Europe.

thy enemies to friends. Fight with valour, but let thy weapon be the word of God." When speaking of the founders of the Hindū and Mohammedan religions, he says: "These are all perishable, God alone is immortal. He alone is a true Hindū whose heart is just, and he only a good Mohammedan whose life is pure."

The first successors of Nanac adhered strictly to the doctrines and spirit of their leader; and though Har Govind, the fifth in succession from him, armed his followers, it was on a principle of self-defence. But Guru Govind, the tenth and last great spiritual chief, gave a new character to the religion of the Sikhs. Animated with a sense of his own wrongs, and those of his tribe, when addressing himself to the Hindūs, in whom he principally trusted, to enable him to oppose the Mohammedans, he sought, by every means, to rouse them to join with him against these. He conjured them to devote themselves to arms, by which alone they could hope to deliver

themselves from their oppressors. The distinctions of casts, or birth, were completely abolished by him. The remembrance of descent, and the influence of it, in preserving connexions among particular families, may remain; but it is in no degree sanctioned by law, or interferes in the general order of society. To please his Hindū followers, he professed particular respect for the places held sacred by them; and the dress, adopted by him, and still used by all Singhs, was said to be in imitation of that ascribed to the goddess of courage, Durga Bhavani. It is light, plain, divested of all ornament. Guru Govind, says: "In my dress I follow not the fashion of any one, but use that which has been appointed me. I use no artful locks, nor adorn myself with earrings." The chiefs sometimes wear gold bracelets; these, however, are seldom seen, and the Sikhs are particularly characterised by the simplicity of their dress, manners, diet, and habits of living in general.

Nanac, in order to conciliate the Mohammedans to his tenets, prohibited the use of hog's flesh; and, by not mentioning circumcision, seemed to leave it to them to do in that respect as they thought fit; but Govind expressly forbad the latter, and recommended the former; and the hog, especially the wild hog, which is of a much superior quality to the domestic animal, has become a favourite food with the Sikhs.

But, notwithstanding all that was done by Nanac, and more especially by Govind, in conformity to the notions of the Hindūs, the precepts that were openly professed by both, are subversive of almost the whole practice and mode of worship of the Brahmins. The religion of the Sikhs not only denies a plurality of Gods, but forbids the use of idols, even in the sense explained by the Hindū Pandits, of being merely representations of the different attributes of the Supreme Being; contrary to that of the Hindūs, it admits of proselytes, and eating

all kinds of animal food, except the cow race; and it rejects the division of the people into casts. Like the Hindū, Mohammedan, and, indeed, all other religions we are acquainted with, it announces a state of rewards and punishments; and, according to some Sikh authors, Nanac seemed to believe in the Hindū doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

General Malcolm, in his Sketch of the Sikhs, gives an account of the ceremonies observed in admitting proselytes. After these are performed, the disciple is asked, if he consents to be of the faith of Guru Govind. He answers, *I do consent.* He is then told: " If you do, you must abandon all intercourse with, and forbear to eat, drink, or sit in company with men of five sects, which I shall name: the first, the *Mina D'hirmal,* who, though of the race of Nanac, were tempted by avarice to give poison to Arjun;* and though they did not

* The fourth Guru.

succeed, they ought to be expelled from society: the second, are the *Musandia,* a sect who call themselves *Gurus,* or priests, and endeavour to introduce heterodox doctrines: the third, *Ram Rayi,* the descendants of Ram Ray, whose intrigues were the great cause of the destruction of the holy ruler, Tegh Sinh: the fourth, are the *Kudi-mar*, or destroyers of their own daughters: the fifth, the Bhadani, who shave the hair of their head and beards." The disciple after this warning against intercourse with schismatics, is instructed in some general precepts, the observance of which is ordained for the welfare of the community into which he is received. He is told to be civil to all with whom he converses, to endeavour to attain wisdom, and to emulate the persuasive eloquence of Baba Nanac. He is particularly enjoined, whenever he approaches any of the Sikh temples, to do it with reverence, and to go to Amritsar to pay his devotions there, and offer up his vows for the Khalsa, or

state, the interests of which he is directed, on all occasions, to consider paramount to his own. He is directed to labour to increase the prosperity of the town of Amritsar; and is further told, that at every place of worship which he visits, he will be conducted in the right path by the Guru (Guru Govind). He is instructed to believe, that it is the duty of all those who belong to the Khalsa, or commonwealth of the Sikhs, neither to lament the sacrifice of property, nor of life, in support of each other; and he is commanded to read the *Adi-Granth* and *Dasama Padshah ka Granth*, every morning and evening. Whatever he has received from God, he is told it is his duty to share with others; and after the disciple has heard and promised to observe all these and other precepts, he is declared to be duly initiated. By the religious institutions of Guru Govind, proselytes are admitted from all tribes and casts in the universe. The initiation may take place at any time of life, but the children

of the Singhs all go through this rite at a very early age.*

One of the principal tenets of Govind's religious institutions, obliges his followers to practise the use of arms; whereas among the Hindūs, the use of these as a profession, or in any way but self-defence, is prohibited to all but those of Cshatriya, or the military tribe. And notwithstanding the full and unreserved belief of the Sikhs in one only supreme ruler of the universe, there is a chapter in the Dasama Padshah-ka-Granth, or book of the tenth king, in praise of Durga Bhavani, the goddess of courage; and Govind with a view to animate his followers to acts of valour, there relates a pretended dream. "Durga (says he) appeared to me when I was asleep, arrayed in all her glory. The goddess put into my hand a bright scymitar, which she had before held in her own. The country of the Mohammedans, said the goddess, shall

* General Malcolm.

be conquered by thee, and numbers of that race shall be slain. After I had heard this, I exclaimed, this steel shall be the guard to me and my followers, because, in its lustre, the splendour of thy countenance, oh goddess! is always reflected."*

The temples of the Sikhs are plain buildings, whence images are entirely banished. Their forms of prayer are short and simple. At the hours of worship, part of their sacred writings, which consist of those of Nanac, mixed with those of some of his successors, in what is called the Adi Granth, are read. They consist of praises of the divinity, and maxims for the practice of virtue. The Adi Granth is in verse, and, like the other books of the Sikhs, is written in the Gūrūmuk'h character, a modified species of the Nagari. Many of the chapters written by Nanac are named Pidi; which literally means a ladder; metaphorically, that by which a man may ascend.

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* Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.

In a passage of this work, containing an address to the Supreme Being, it is said,

"The just celebrate thy praises in profound meditation.

"The pious declare thy glory.

"The learned Pandits, and the Rishiswaras, who through ages read the Vedas, recite thy praises.

"All who know thee, praise thee.

"He, even He, is the Lord of Truth, and truly just.

"He is, He was, He passes not. He is the preserver of all that is preserved.

"Having formed the creation, he surveyed his own work, produced by his greatness."

It contains precepts for the conduct of man, and inculcates the soundest maxims of morality.

But the Dasama Padshah-ka-Granth, or book of the tenth chief, composed by Guru Govind, is held in as much veneration as the Adi Granth. Though Govind was brought up in the tenets of Nanac, yet having been educated among the Brahmins

at Mathura, he seems to have been tainted with some of their superstitious notions; and hence, as well as from considerations of policy, he shewed more complaisance for their prejudices than Nanac had done. But the sacred book of Guru Govind is not confined to religious subjects; it abounds with accounts of his battles, and of actions performed by the most valiant of his followers. Throughout the work, courage is not only highly extolled, but is considered as an indispensable virtue; and he declares to his followers, that dying in defence of their faith will not only procure the greatest glory that can be obtained in this life, but happiness in a future state. A Sikh author, speaking of Guru Govind and his doctrines, says:

" By the command of the Eternal, the great Guru disseminated the true knowledge. Full of strength and courage, he successfully established the Khalsa.*—

* The State.

Thus, at once founding the Singhs, he struck the whole world with awe; overturning temples, tombs, and mosques, he levelled them all with the plain; rejecting the Vedas, the Puranas, the six Sastras, and the Korān, he abolished the cry of Namaz,* and slew the Sultāns; reducing the Mirs and Pirs † to silence, he overturned all their sects; the Moullahs and the Kazis ‡ were confounded, and found no benefit from their studies. The Brahmins, the Pandits, and the Jotishis § had acquired a relish for worldly things; they worshipped stones and temples, and forgot the Supreme. Thus these two sects, the Mohammedan and Hindū, remained involved in delusion and ignorance, when the Khalsa originated in purity. When, at the order of Guru Govind, the Singhs

* The Mohammedan prayer.

† The Lords and priests of the Mohammedans.

‡ The priests, and professors of theology; and the judges.

§ Astrologers.

seized and displayed the scymitar, then subduing all their enemies, they meditated on the Eternal; and, as soon as the order of the Most High was manifested in the world, circumcision ceased, and the Moslems trembled when they saw the ritual of Mohammed destroyed: then the Nakara * of victory sounded throughout the world, and fear and dread were abolished."†

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* Large kettle-drum, always found established at head-quarters, or places of abode, of princes and commanders.

† The principal authorities for the foregoing account of the Sikhs, are,—1. The Sketch given of them by General Malcolm, frequently referred to by the author, and which he has in several places copied literally. 2. The account of a journey to Europe, through Lahore, Cashmire, and Persia, by Mr. George Forster, to which is added a *Precis sur les Sykes*, by Monsieur Langlès. 3. An account of a tour to Lahore, published in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Annual Register; and 4. Communications made to the author personally, by Mr. John Stuart, and the late Colonel Polier. The coincidence that appears in the reports given by five different persons, totally unconnected with each other, is a strong proof of the exact-

ness of their accounts. Free from prejudice, they seem to have viewed the virtuous Hindū and Sikh, with as much goodwill as the virtuous Christian; a happy, and indispensable quality in a traveller: for, whoever looks through the medium of prejudice, must be constantly exposed to be led into error.

In the work published by Mr. Ward, at Serampore, which has already been mentioned, there is an article on the Sikhs, containing what is termed "a List of Topics selected from the works of Nanac and four of his successors."

END OF VOL. I.

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